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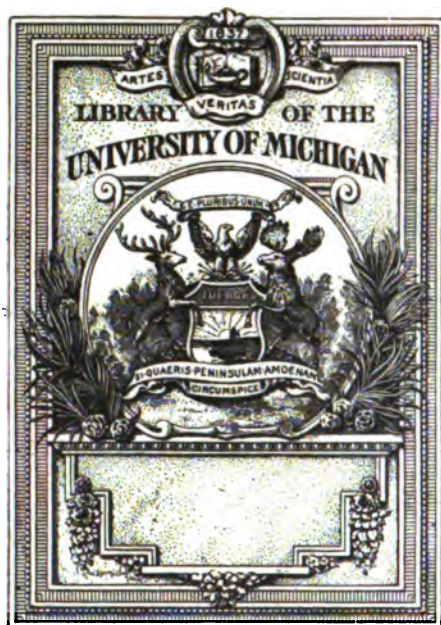
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## *SION: THE CITY OF DAVID.*

IN previous papers under this title <sup>1</sup> reasons were given for the opinion now prevailing with the majority of scholars that the Jebusite fortress of Jerusalem lay upon the eastern of the two hills which form the site of the City, and just above the spring called the Virgin's Well. These reasons were derived from the topography. The western ridge, though higher than its fellow, is not so suitable for the site of a hill fort,<sup>2</sup> and lies besides at an inconvenient distance from the only sources of water known to us to have existed in ancient times. It is true that the frequent disturbance of the district by earthquakes, as well as the manifold deposits of débris left by a score of sieges upon the original surface prevent us from excluding from the data of our argument the possibility of there having been formerly other vents for the underground waters which now issue in the Kidron Valley. But we have at least evidence which identifies the present Virgin's Well with the Old Testament Gihon, and proves that Gihon was already a sacred, and therefore an ancient, fountain before 1000 B.C.<sup>3</sup> The ridge immediately above this spring is more suitable for a small hill-fort than the western ridge. Narrow as it is and overlooked from the north, it has been accepted by military authorities of our own day<sup>3</sup> as a sufficient site for the Jebusite stronghold.

<sup>1</sup> EXPOSITOR, April and May, 1908.    2 כְּצִיִּיָה 2 Sam. v. 7.

<sup>3</sup> See EXPOSITOR for March 1903.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Charles Wilson and Sir Charles Warren.

To these topographical reasons we are now prepared, being arrived at the time of David, to add others drawn from the history of Jerusalem under Israel. They start from the verse which records his capture of the stronghold, and run along the history of the two names which the verse assigns to it: 2 Sam. v. 7, *David took the stronghold of Sion, or Siyyōn; the same is the City of David.*

### 1. THE MEANING OF THE NAME SION OR SIYYON.

In the verse quoted the name is given (as throughout the Old Testament) without the definite article; that is, as already a proper name. This has not prevented the attempt to derive it from a Semitic root expressive of the character of the site to which it was originally attached. In early Christian literature it has been variously translated "watch-tower," "peak," "dry place," "impassable," and "fixed" or "ordained."<sup>1</sup> The meaning "dry" has been revived by Gesenius and Lagarde<sup>2</sup>; and that of "ordained" or "set up" by Delitzsch.<sup>3</sup> Another derivation is from the root which appears in the Arabic *Ṣan* "to guard"<sup>4</sup>; another compares the Mishnic Hebrew *Siyyūn* "the act of making anything conspicuous by marking it."<sup>5</sup> I think that a much more probable derivation may be reached through the Arabic equivalent for *Siōn*: *Ṣahyun* or *Ṣihyun*.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> So Jerome (*Liber Interpr. Hebr. Nom.*, see Lagarde, *Onom. Sacr.* pp. 70-73, etc.): "Sion, specula vel speculator sive scopulus," "vel mandatum vel inuium." *Onomastica Vaticana*, see Lagarde, *id.* p. 204: *Σιον σκοπευτήριον*; p. 211: *Σ. διψῶσα*; p. 222: *ἡ ἐντολή σκοπιᾶς*.

<sup>2</sup> Ges. *Thea.* 1164; Lag. *Bildung Hebr. Nomin.* 84, as if *יִיץ* were a contraction of *יִיץ* from *יִיץ*; cf. Graetz's emendation of *יִיץ* in Jer. 81. 17 to *יִיץ*.

<sup>3</sup> *Psalmen*, 3rd ed. 170, as if from *יִיץ*.

<sup>4</sup> Wetzstein, see Delitzsch, *Genesis*, 4th ed. p. 578.

<sup>5</sup> From this no doubt came the meaning "tomb" (cf. Cruden's *Concordance*), for tombs were marked white.

<sup>6</sup> The present name for the Mount *Siōn* of Christian tradition, the S.W. hill. *Bab Ṣihyūn* is in *Muḥaddasi*, the present *Bab en Nabi Dāūd*, and

In Boha-ed-Din's *Life of Saladin*<sup>1</sup> a castle near Laodicea in northern Syria is described, under the name Şehyun, as "well-fortified on the edge of a hill." Now the Arabic Lexicons give Şahweh as the "highest part" or "ridge of a mountain or hump or shoulder," or even as "a citadel or bastion." That there was a second castle of the same name, also on a narrow ridge,<sup>2</sup> encourages the belief that in this Arabic form we may find the correct etymology of Şion or Şiyyōn; the termination -ōn being that which occurs in so many place-names. Şiōn would then mean "protuberance, shoulder or summit of a ridge,"<sup>3</sup> and so "fort or citadel." In itself such a meaning is most probable.

## 2. HISTORY OF THE NAME ŞION IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

When Israel, in possession of the Jebusite citadel, changed its ancient name to that of their own king, its conqueror, they may have expected that the former, a foreign and obscure designation, would disappear behind a title so illustrious and, as it proved, so enduring as "the City of David." Instead of this the name Şiōn, as if emancipated from the rock to which it had been confined, began to extend to the neighbourhood, and, advancing with the growth of Jerusalem, became more identified with her final extent and fame than that of David himself. The name of David appears to have remained on the limited

Kenisah Şihyun the name in Mas'ūdi for the Christian Church on the traditional Mount Sion; see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 203, 212-215. In the *P. E. F. Quart. Statement*, 1877, p. 21, Col. Conder points out that the name still exists in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, Wady Şahyūn, about 1½ miles S.W. from the Jaffa Gate, and quotes Isaac Chelo as describing Şion not at but near Jerusalem.

<sup>1</sup> Ch. 48, opening sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Yakut, *Geogr. Lex.*, tells us that the Syrian castle was sometimes confused with the Jerusalem Şion.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the expression in Joshua, *the shoulder of the Jebusite*.

area on which his people had placed it: Şion not only spread over the Temple Mount, the whole city and her population, but even followed the latter during their exile to Babylon. It is a remarkable story which we are now to trace. An epithet, originally so limited in application and apparently so concrete in meaning, gradually becomes synonymous with Jerusalem as a whole, is adopted as one of Israel's fondest names for the shrine of their religion, and is finally idealised as an expression of the most sacred aspects of their character as the people of God. Yet even across so wide a career there lie scattered proofs that the spot from which the name started was that narrow summit of Ophel above Gihon.

In the history of Solomon's reign Şion, still equivalent to the City of David, is described as distinct from the site of the Temple and as lying below it. According to 1 Kings viii. 1 ff. Solomon gathered the heads of the people to *bring up* the Ark out of the City of David *which is Şion* to the Temple. The other verb used in verse 6 of the conveyance of the Ark, after it had reached the Temple level, to the Holy Place, viz., *brought in*, proves that the verb *brought up* in verses 1 and 4 is to be taken in its obvious sense and not (as some argue, who place the original Şion on the South-Western Hill)<sup>1</sup> as if it merely meant *started out with* or *brought on its way*. To the writer of this passage Şion evidently lay *below* Solomon's Temple: that is, on the site on which topographical reasons have led us to place it, on the eastern ridge above Gihon.<sup>2</sup>

The next appearances of the name are in the writings of the Eighth Century Prophets, some two hundred and fifty

<sup>1</sup> For example, Rückert, *Die Lage des Berges Sion*, p. 32.

<sup>2</sup> To the above passages may be added 2 Sam. xxiv. 18 ff., 1 Chron. xxi. 18 ff.; according to which David *went up* from his residence in the city of David to the threshing-floor of Araunah, subsequently the site of the Temple.



years after David. Amos says: *Yahweh roars from Šion and utters his voice from Jerusalem*, and speaks of those who are at ease in Šion and secure in the mount of Samaria.<sup>1</sup> The former passage certainly includes in Šion the Temple as the residence and oracle of the God of Israel. Isaiah records a word of Yahweh: *I lay in Šion a foundation stone*: that is, the intimate spiritual relation between Himself and His people, on which He calls their faith to rest.<sup>2</sup> Micah mentions Šion as equivalent to the whole town of Jerusalem, and adds, as if it were distinct from this, *the Mount of the House* or Temple.<sup>3</sup> Both Micah and (probably) Isaiah speak of the City and her population as the *Daughter of Šion*.<sup>4</sup> Another form, *Mount Šion*, occurs in a number of oracles attributed to Isaiah, but assigned by many scholars to exilic or post-exilic times. I do not feel, however, that the reasons which the latter give against the authenticity of some of these passages are conclusive. Ch. viii. 18 appears to be genuine, in spite of Volz's and Cheyne's arguments to the contrary, and if so, affords evidence that the Temple Hill was called Mount Šion in Isaiah's time.<sup>5</sup>

Thus it appears that the name Šion, which till Solomon's time at least had been confined to the Jebusite fort, had spread during the next two hundred and fifty years across the whole of Jerusalem. The reasons for this extension

<sup>1</sup> Amos. i. 2, vi. 1. The genuineness of both passages has been contested but on insufficient grounds.

<sup>2</sup> Isaiah xxviii. 16: accepted as genuine by all critics. Other oracles mentioning Šion might be added to this one, for there is not much reason to doubt that they are Isaiah's own. But as they are not accepted as such by all critics, I refrain from using them here.

<sup>3</sup> Micah iii. 10, 12.

<sup>4</sup> Micah i. 13; Isaiah i. 8.

<sup>5</sup> In Isaiah xxix. 8 and xxxi. 4, which are also probably genuine, *Mount Šion* may be even interpreted as covering the whole of the City. Other occurrences of the name in prophecies which still quite recently were generally regarded as Isaiah's own, are iv. 5, x. 12, xviii. 7. In x. 32 and xvi. 1 is found *Mount of the Daughter of Šion*.

are obvious, even if we cannot define the successive stages of the process. Either the name followed the expansion of the population, and (as Micah iii. 12 seems to show) only subsequently to this included the site of the Temple; or more probably it first accompanied the Ark to the latter (as we might infer from Amos i. 2) and thence spread over the rest of the City. But we must not forget the possibility of a third alternative: that the name Şion had covered the whole of the Eastern Hill from the earliest times. In any case it would be more natural for it to spread first across this, and only then over the rest of Jerusalem.

In the Seventh Century Jeremiah uses *Şion* as equivalent to Jerusalem, City and Temple<sup>1</sup>; and the *Daughter of Şion* as the personified City and her population.<sup>2</sup> He does not give the name *Mount Şion*. Coming to writers of the Exile, we find that Ezekiel nowhere mentions Jerusalem or the Temple Mount by the name of Şion; a remarkable omission, as if this rigid theologian had purposely excluded from the holy precincts a title of Gentile origin. But in Lamentations, on the contrary, *Şion* and the *Daughter of Şion* are frequent designations not only of the City, ruined and desolate, and, as personified, *spreading forth her hands*,<sup>3</sup> but also of the community carried away captive.<sup>4</sup> Once there is mention of *Mount Şion*, the deserted site trodden by foxes.<sup>5</sup> As in Jeremiah so in the great prophet of the Exile, Isaiah xl.-lv., *Mount Şion* does not appear; but *Şion* is used both of the City,<sup>6</sup> as parallel to Jerusalem,<sup>7</sup> and of her exiled people,<sup>8</sup> who are also addressed as *the daughter of Şion*.<sup>9</sup>

All these instances of the name in its various forms increase throughout the later literature (except in certain

<sup>1</sup> Jer. iv. 6, viii. 19, xiv. 19, xxvi. 18; and probably also xxxi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> iv. 81, vi. 2, 28.

<sup>3</sup> Lam. i. 4, 17, v. 11.

<sup>4</sup> iv. 22.

<sup>5</sup> v. 18.

<sup>6</sup> e.g. li. 11., lii. 7 f.

<sup>7</sup> xl. 9, xli. 27, lii. 1.

<sup>8</sup> li. 16; cf. Zech. ii. 7.

<sup>9</sup> lii. 2.

books presently to be noted). *Şion* is become the full equivalent of Jerusalem,<sup>1</sup> and the name is as closely attached to the Lord as to His people. *Şion* is *Şion* of the Holy One of Israel,<sup>2</sup> His Holy Mount,<sup>3</sup> and dwelling place<sup>4</sup>: the mother of the nation,<sup>5</sup> the nation herself<sup>6</sup>; the pure and holy nucleus of the nation.<sup>7</sup> To *Şion* the Gentiles look, and from her goes forth the true religion.<sup>8</sup> The fuller name *Mount Şion* is sometimes employed as covering all Jerusalem<sup>9</sup>; and sometimes apparently in the narrower sense of the Temple Mount where Yahweh reigns.<sup>10</sup> Instances of such applications of the name in the Psalms are too numerous for citation.

To this frequent reference to *Şion* in post-exilic literature, there is one remarkable line of exceptions. Just as Ezekiel does not use the name, so it is absent from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Except as the Jebusite designation of the citadel which David took, the Chronicler does not mention *Şion*.<sup>11</sup> To him the mountain of the Temple is Mount Moriah.<sup>12</sup> Even in passages describing the gathering of the people to sacrifice or to the cleansing or repair of the Temple, in which we might have expected the use of the name Mount *Şion*,<sup>13</sup> it is constantly avoided; and the worshippers are described as *coming to Jerusalem* or *going up to the house of the LORD*.<sup>14</sup> In Ezra the formula frequently used is *the house of God* or *of Yahweh which is in Jerusalem*<sup>15</sup>; and Nehemiah speaks of *Jerusalem* and the *courts of God's house*.<sup>16</sup> That the Chronicler, who knew of *Şion* as the

<sup>1</sup> Zech. i. 14, 17, viii. 3. Zephaniah iii. 16 (a late passage).

<sup>2</sup> Isa. lx. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Joel ii. 1, cf. 15.

<sup>4</sup> Joel iii. 17.

<sup>5</sup> Isa. lxvi. 8; Joel ii. 23.

<sup>6</sup> Zeph. iii. 14, daughter of *Şion*=Israel.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. lix. 20.

<sup>8</sup> Isa. ii. 8 (if indeed this be a post-exilic oracle, and not one, as is probable, from an earlier date), Micah iv. 11.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Kings xix. 31; Obad. 17, 21; Joel ii. 32.

<sup>10</sup> Isa. xxiv. 23; cf. xxvii. 13, the holy mount; Micah iv. 7.

<sup>11</sup> 1 Chr. xi. 5; 2 Chr. v. 2.

<sup>12</sup> 2 Chr. iii. 1.

<sup>13</sup> e.g. 2 Chr. xx., xxiii. ff., xxxiv.

<sup>14</sup> e.g. xxix. 20.

<sup>15</sup> i. 3, 5, iv. 24, etc.

<sup>16</sup> xiii. 7.

name of the Jebusite fort, and who introduces the City of David, Ophel and Moriah; that Ezra and Nehemiah, who also give so many of the topographical names of Jerusalem, neglected by accident to call the Temple Mount Şion, appears incredible. Doubtless, like Ezekiel, they had some religious reason for refusing the name to so holy a place. Were it not for the frequent use of Şion in the Psalms, we would be tempted to say that Şion was exclusively a prophetic designation; which the priestly school of writers avoided.

One other witness to the use of the name in the Old Testament period, is the author of First Maccabees (about 100 B.C.). In this Book Mount Sion is always the Temple Mount<sup>1</sup> distinct both from the City of David and from the rest of Jerusalem. So Sion in other parts of the Apocrypha.<sup>2</sup>

Neither in the Old Testament nor in the Apocrypha is there any passage which can be interpreted as applying the name Şion specially to the Western Hill. The attempt to do so has indeed been made. Verses of the Psalms, which, according to the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, place within the same couplet *Şion* and *Yahweh's Holy Hill*, have been interpreted as if they thereby designated *two different localities*; viz., the Western Hill and the Temple Hill. But this would imply that within ancient Jerusalem there were actually two sites of equal sacredness: an impossible conclusion. The only natural inference from the parallelism just quoted is that Şion and the Temple Hill were identical.

### 3. THE NAME, CITY OF DAVID.

While the ancient Canaanite name, *Şion*, thus left the citadel and grew across the City, the Israelite title *City of David* appears to have remained confined to that fort and

<sup>1</sup> iv. 37, 60, v. 54, vi. 48, 62, vii. 33, x. 11, xiv. 27.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Esdras viii. 81 (2 Esdras v. 25); Ecclesiasticus xxiv. 10, and (apparently) Judith, ix. 13.

its complex of buildings. We are, therefore, able to discover in the use of this title in Old Testament times even more evidence that the citadel lay on the Eastern Hill.

David brought the Ark into the *City of David* and was buried there.<sup>1</sup> Solomon lodged there the daughter of Pharaoh, till he should have built *his palace and temple and the wall of Jerusalem round about*.<sup>2</sup> When the Temple was finished he *brought up* to it (as we have seen) the Ark from the City of David,<sup>3</sup> and was buried in the City of David,<sup>4</sup> as were also in the next centuries many of the kings of Judah.<sup>5</sup> Except in an oracle of Isaiah,<sup>6</sup> which however does not define its position save in holding it distinct from Jerusalem as a whole,<sup>7</sup> the City of David is not mentioned in the prophets of the eighth century. We find it, however, in the Chronicler's account of that period, as distinct from the City at large,<sup>8</sup> but also as lying upon the Eastern Hill above Gihon. The Chronicler tells us that Hezekiah, in stopping the fountains outside the City so as to deprive the besiegers of water,<sup>9</sup> closed *the vent or issue* of the waters of the upper Gihon, and *brought them straight down or underneath, to the west of the City of David*.<sup>10</sup> This can refer only to the tunnel hewn under the Eastern Hill from Gihon to the Pool of Siloam, and it places the City of David above the tunnel and between its two ends. The Chronicler

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. vi. ; 1 Kings ii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings iii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings viii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> xi. 48.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 81, etc. Thenius (*Bücher der Könige*, ed. 2, p. 15), quotes Theodoret (4th cent.) as placing these graves near Siloam.

<sup>6</sup> xxii. 9.

<sup>7</sup> v. 10.

<sup>8</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii. 27, which states that Ahaz was buried in Jerusalem, but not in the sepulchres of the kings, which, we have just seen, lay in the City of David.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 8; cf. 2 Kings xx. 20; Eccclus. xlviii. 17.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 80: the English versions do not give the exact meaning of the original. In the *P.E.F. Quart. Statement* for 1877, 178 f., Colonel Conder admits that according to this verse the City of David was on Ophel: but he regards the name as transferable.

adds that Manasseh built a wall on the west side of Gihon in the valley of the Kidron: that is on the most natural site for such a wall, immediately above the fountain; and compassed about *Ophel*.<sup>1</sup> After the exile Nehemiah also places the City of David here, for he mentions the *stairs which go down from it* in close connexion with Siloam<sup>2</sup> and describes a procession as entering by the gate at Siloam and thence ascending these stairs. Sir Charles Wilson does not write too strongly when he says<sup>3</sup>: "The statements of Nehemiah, which place the stairs of the City of David, the palace of David and his tomb between the pool of Shelah (Siloam) and the Temple, absolutely exclude the western spur as a possible site for the City of David."

In the First Book of Maccabees the City of David stands still distinct from the Temple Mount, and both of them from the rest of Jerusalem. While the Temple Mount was at first desolated by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Syrian forces garrisoned the City of David, described as the Akra or Citadel, all through the war of independence till the reign of Simon.<sup>4</sup> There is no definition in First Maccabees of the site of the City of David, except that it was close to the Temple, but the fact is clear that it was still a quarter distinct both from the Temple Hill and the rest of Jerusalem. It seems, therefore, most natural to assume that the name remained where it lay from David's time to Nehemiah's. But this is a question which we must treat in greater detail when we come to the Maccabean period.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Id.* xxxiii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> iii. 15, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Article "Zion" in Hastings' *Bible Dictionary*.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Macc. i. 38, ii. 31 (in this verse Jerusalem is either a gloss or the words *City of David* have been added as a more exact description of the site of the Akra); iv. 87, 41, vi. 18 ff., 26, ix. 52 ff., x. 9 ff., xi. 20 f., xii. 86 f.; xiii. 21, 49 f., 52 (*the hill of the Temple which was by the Akra he made stronger than before, and there he and his men dwelt*).

<sup>5</sup> In one passage Josephus *B.J.* v. vi. 1 appears to place the Akra near Siloah on the Eastern Hill.

#### 4. CONCLUSION FROM THE PRECEDING EVIDENCE.

We find, then, that the Biblical data and the testimony of the Apocryphal writings agree with the topographical evidence. The Jebusite stronghold of Sion, the City or Citadel of David, lay on the Eastern Hill above Gihon, the present Well of our Lady Mary. There is no trace, let me repeat, of the application of the name Sion to the South-Western Hill in distinction from the rest of Jerusalem. There is no trace of that hill ever having been regarded in Old Testament times as sacred.<sup>1</sup>

#### 5. JOSEPHUS AND THE WESTERN HILL.

With Josephus, however, there was started another tradition, which placed Sion and the City of David upon the South-Western Hill; and this tradition, adopted by the Christian Church, was till a few years ago universally received and is still held by some experts in the topography of Jerusalem.

Like so many of the Old Testament writers, Josephus nowhere uses the name Sion, but he places David's citade on the Western Hill.<sup>2</sup>

Such a contradiction of the Biblical tradition was doubtless due to the fact that Jerusalem had been so often destroyed and restored between the date of the Maccabees and the time of Josephus, and that Herod, in particular, had so strongly fortified the Western Hill, that it was natural to suppose that it had always been the main citadel.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not necessary to use Baron von Alten's argument (*Z.D.P.V.* ii. 29) in support of this. He quotes Ezekiel's description of the removal of the offended God of Israel from the Temple Hill to the Mount of Olives (xi. 23 and xliii. 1 ff.) as if that proves that the S.W. hill had no special sacredness before Ezekiel's time; for he thinks that if it had been sacred Ezekiel would have named it as the Deity's resting place instead of the Mount of Olives.

<sup>2</sup> *V. Bell. Jud.* iv., where he identifies it with his upper city, though he elsewhere appears to locate the Akra on Ophel; see above, p. 10, n. 5.

<sup>3</sup> See *Encycl. Biblica*, column 2420. Cf. Baron von Alten, *Z.D.P.V.* ii. 20 f.

The Christian Fathers did not all follow Josephus in this transference of the military centre of Jerusalem from the Eastern to the Western ridge. Origen<sup>1</sup> takes the Temple Hill and Sion as identical, and so apparently Jerome, in his comment on Isaiah xxii. 1 f. But in the *Onomasticon* both Eusebius and Jerome place Sion on the Western Hill<sup>2</sup> and this came to be the accepted opinion among Christians. As Sir Charles Wilson has pointed out,<sup>3</sup> its acceptance was probably facilitated by the building of the Church of the Resurrection, on the Western Hill, in addition to the statements of Josephus. Christians and Mohammedans alike continued to identify the South-Western Hill as Mount Sion, and the identification was accepted by the first scientific geographers of the nineteenth century: Robinson, Ritter, De Vogué and others. It was at first also taken for granted by the excavators of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and it is still defended by Colonel Conder, Consul Merrill, Dr. Archibald Henderson, Dr. Mommert,<sup>4</sup> Georg Gatt,<sup>5</sup> and Dr. Rückert.<sup>6</sup>

#### 6. THE RETURN TO THE EASTERN HILL.

The credit of being the first to attack this tradition, which cannot be traced beyond Josephus, belongs, I believe, to Thomas Lewin,<sup>7</sup> to Dr. Ch. Ed. Caspari, who in 1864 identified the Old Testament Sion with Moriah, and placed the Syrian Akra on Temple Hill<sup>8</sup>; to Furrer<sup>9</sup>; to the Rev. W. F. Birch, who in 1878 began to argue

<sup>1</sup> *Ad Joan.* iv. 19 f.

<sup>2</sup> So also the Bordeaux Pilgrim, 833 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed., art. "Jerusalem," p. 1651.

<sup>4</sup> *Topographie des Alten Jerusalem*, 1 Theil, Zion und Akra, Leipzig: preface dated Dec. 1900.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Hügel von Jerusalem*, Freiburg, i. B., 1897.

<sup>6</sup> *Die Lage des Berges Sion*, Freiburg, i. B., 1898.

<sup>7</sup> *Jerusalem*, 1861.

<sup>8</sup> *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1864, 309 ff.

<sup>9</sup> Schenkel's *Bibellexikon*, 1871; article "Jerusalem."



independently on the Biblical data for the location of the Jebusite citadel on the Eastern Hill: and to Baron von Alten, who in 1879<sup>1</sup> gave at great length reasons, good and bad, for identifying this hill with Sion. They were followed in 1881 by Stade,<sup>2</sup> and by Robertson Smith, and in 1883 by Professor Sayce.<sup>3</sup> Since then the opinion has come to prevail with the large majority both of the excavators of Jerusalem and of Old and New Testament scholars. Sir Charles Wilson, and later Sir Charles Warren, who long contended for the other view, have adopted it.<sup>4</sup> Professor Guthe adhered to it as early as 1883<sup>5</sup>: and supported it by maintaining that his excavations had proved the existence of a valley or trench between the site of David's citadel and the northern Temple Wall, the existence of which, however, is denied by Colonel Conder and others, and requires further investigation. In addition to these may be mentioned the names of the following authorities on the Old Testament, or the topography: Klaiber, Socin, Benzinger, Ryle, Driver, Cheyne, Buhl, Schürer, V. Ryssel and (practically also) A. B. Davidson.<sup>6</sup> But the most notable of recent adherents to the support of the Eastern Hill is the Dominican scholar M. Jos. Lagrange, in a very able and lucid article in the *Revue Biblique* for 1892. Till the appearance of this article, Roman Catholic opinion had almost unanimously<sup>7</sup> adhered to the ecclesiastical tradition in favour of the

<sup>1</sup> *Z.D.P.V.*, vol. ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, i. 267 f.

<sup>3</sup> *P.E.F. Quarterly Statement*.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Charles Wilson, *City and Land*, 1892, 19 f. and *op. cit.*; and Sir Charles Warren: *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 8866.

<sup>5</sup> *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*.

<sup>6</sup> For references to the passages in which these authors express their views, see the article by the present writer in the *Encycl. Biblica*, column 2418. Klaiber's two lucid articles appeared in 1880, 1881, in the *Z.D.P.V.*, vols. iii. and iv.

<sup>7</sup> Klaiber refers to an earlier Roman Catholic work: Ries, *Biblische Geographie*, 1872.

Western Hill. There is no one more familiar with the site of Jerusalem than M. Lagrange: his estimate of the Biblical evidence and the evidence of Josephus is temperate and judicious; and his explanation of how Josephus adopted opinions so much in contradiction to the data of the Old Testament is natural. He points out how frequently the sacred names of Palestine have passed from one site to another. When the early Church, following Josephus, transferred the name Sion from the Eastern to the Western Hill, there "was no falsification of tradition, but the adaptation of an ancient term to a new situation." To suppose that the name Sion first crossed from the Western Hill to the Eastern, became attached to the latter and then passed back again, is unnatural. There is no Biblical authority for its ever having been specially applied to the Western Hill. That such a scholar should have been compelled by a careful review of the evidence to abandon the Church tradition is as significant as that explorers like Sir Charles Warren, who also for so long accepted it, have made the same change.

On the contrary side no more careful review of the evidence could have been made than that which Dr. Mommert has presented to us in the work cited above. He has issued a learned and a judicious treatise. But after a careful examination of his arguments against the opinions of scholars in favour of the Eastern Hill, I cannot say that I have been convinced by them. There are still many difficulties to be cleared up; and several both of Colonel Conder's and Dr. Mommert's arguments are not without cogency.<sup>1</sup> But alike on the present topographical and Biblical evidence, I, who also once accepted the tradition started by Josephus, feel that I must give my vote for the Eastern Hill. Had we only the topographical data,

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rückert's arguments are too much tied to tradition.

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it might be well to postpone a decision till the questions of the walls of the ancient city, and of the possibility of the existence of other ancient fountains than Gihon were cleared up, as they can only be, by further excavations. But the evidence of the Bible itself in favour of the Eastern Hill appears to me to be too clear for indecision.

I hope to return to the subject in further studies on Jerusalem in the Maccabean and Roman periods. The next study will be on the size and appearance of Jerusalem under David and Solomon.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

### THE OLIVE-TREE AND THE WILD-OLIVE<sup>1</sup>

*But if some of the branches were broken off, and thou, being a wild olive, wast grafted in among them, and didst become partaker with them of the root of the fatness of the olive tree; glory not over the branches: but if thou gloriest, it is not thou that bearest the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then, branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in. Well; by their unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by thy faith. Be not high-minded, but fear: for if God spared not the natural branches, neither will he spare thee. Behold then the goodness and severity of God: toward them that fell, severity: but toward thee, God's goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off. And they also, if they continue not in their unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God is able to graft them in again. For if thou wast cut out of that which is by nature a wild olive tree, and wast grafted contrary to nature into a good olive tree: how much more shall these, which are the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive tree?—Romans xi. 17-24.*

FEW passages in St. Paul's writings have given rise to so much erroneous comment as the above; and the widespread idea that he was unobservant and ignorant of nature and blind to the ordinary processes of the world around him seems to be mainly founded on the false views that have been taken of his allusion to the process of grafting. The misunderstanding of this passage has caused such far-reaching misapprehension that a careful discussion of it seems to be urgently called for. It is advisable to treat the subject in a wider view than may at first sight seem necessary; but the wider treatment is forced on the writer by the necessities of the case and the demands of clearness, though his first intention was only to write a short statement on the subject. The unfortunate omission in Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 616, of any description of the cultivation of the Olive, closely though the

<sup>1</sup> I have consulted my colleague Professor J. W. H. Trail, Professor of Botany, on the subject of this paper; and he has cleared up several points for me; but I refrain from quoting his opinion on any special point, lest I should be mixing my own with his more scientific ideas.

subject bears on the understanding of many passages in the Bible, at once compels and excuses the length of the treatment here. Dr. Post, who wrote the article *Olive* in the *Dictionary*, would have been an excellent authority on this subject, on account of his long residence in Syria; but by some oversight he has omitted it entirely. A fuller account of the tree is given by Dr. Macalister under *Food* (ii. 31) and *Oil* (iii. 591); but the culture of the tree could not well be treated under those headings, and is therefore wholly omitted in the *Dictionary*. Under *Grafting* Dr. Hastings himself refers forward to *Olive*, anticipating the account which is not there given after all. Moreover Dr. Post's article *Oil-Tree* (iii. 592) states views which are in some respects so diametrically opposed to ordinary opinions and supported by arguments which are in some respects so questionable, that the subject requires further treatment.<sup>1</sup>

The expression "questionable," which has been applied in the preceding paragraph to a statement made by so good an authority as Dr. Post, needs justification. He says (iii. 591), that, when Nehemiah viii. 15, in a list of five kinds of foliage brought from the mountains "to make booths," mentions both Wild-Olive and Olive, "the difference between the latter and the Wild-Olive is so small, that it is quite unlikely that it would have been mentioned by a separate name in so brief a list of trees used for the same purpose." Accordingly he infers that the Hebrew word, which is there translated "Wild-Olive" is the name of a different tree, and that Wild-Olive is a mistranslation.<sup>2</sup> It is difficult to justify this inference. Pausanias ii. 32 mentions Olive and Wild-Olive in a list of three trees, Artemidorus iv. 52 mentions them as two different kinds of foliage used

<sup>1</sup> Mr. McLean's articles Olive and Oil-Tree in *Encyc. Bibl.* are good but very brief. He is bold enough to hint that there is no proof of the recently invented British view that the Oleaster is *Eleagnus angustifolia*.

<sup>2</sup> It will be necessary to discuss the nature of the Wild-Olive more fully in the second part of this article.

for garlands. The Olive crown was considered by the ancients essentially different from the Wild-Olive crown, sacred to a different deity and used for a different purpose. Many modern botanists (as Professor Fischer mentions in his treatise<sup>1</sup> *der Oelbaum*, p. 4f.) consider that Olive and Wild-Olive are two distinct species, wholly unconnected with one another. It seems natural and probable that the order should be issued, as Nehemiah says, to bring both Olive and Wild-Olive branches: had either name been omitted the order would have excluded one of the most abundant and suitable kinds of foliage.

I do not pretend to be capable of giving the required treatment satisfactorily; but I may at least be able to call attention to it, point out defects in the recognized English authorities and in the statements which are repeated by writer after writer as if they were true, and lead to a more thorough treatment by some better scholar. Even, if I should in turn make some mistakes in a subject in which I am only an outsider, devoid of scientific knowledge, these will be corrected in the fuller discussion which will hereafter be given. The present article is written by a geographer and historian, not by a botanist; but the modern conception of geography, and especially of historical geography, compels the writer in that subject to touch often on historical botany, the diffusion of trees, and the discovery and spread of the art of domesticating and cultivating and improving fruit trees.

Clearness will probably be best attained by stating first of all the interpretation which is suggested by the actual facts of Olive-culture, and thereafter it will be easier to see how mistaken are many of the inferences that have been drawn from misinterpretation of the passage. I had long been puzzled by it, feeling that there was something in it which was not allowed for by the modern scholars who dis-

<sup>1</sup> This work is more fully described below.

cussed it, and yet being unable to specify what the omitted factor was. The perusal of an elaborate study of the Olive-tree and the Olive-culture of the Mediterranean lands by Professor Theobald Fischer, who has devoted thirty years to the study of the Mediterranean fruit-trees, revealed the secret. Professor Fischer has discovered a fact of Olive-culture which had escaped all mere tourists and ordinary travellers, and even such a careful observer as Rev. W. M. Thomson in that excellent old work *The Land and the Book* (which deserves a higher rank than many much more imposing and famous studies published by more recent scholars and observers, who had not seen nearly so much as Mr. Thomson did during his thirty years' residence, and who in respect of accuracy about facts and details of Palestine sometimes leave something to be desired).

No better authority than Professor Fischer could be desired or obtained. He knows the subject in all its breadth better probably than any other living man: an experienced practical Olive-cultivator might surpass him in certain points of knowledge as regards one country, but Professor Fischer has studied it for all countries and all times. He has created a method and a sphere of research, and gathered around him a school to carry out his system of observation and study. As regards Palestine, but no other Mediterranean country, he points out that the process which St. Paul had in view is still in use in exceptional circumstances at the present day. He mentions that it is customary to reinvigorate an Olive-tree which is ceasing to bear fruit, by grafting it with a shoot of the Wild-Olive, so that the sap of the tree ennobles this wild shoot and the tree now again begins to bear fruit.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An das noch heute in Palästina geübte Verfahren, einen Ölbaum, der Früchte zu tragen aufhört, zu verjüngen, indem man ihn mit einem der wilden Wurzeltriebe pfpflanzt, so dass der Saft des Baumes diesen wilden Trieb veredelt und der Baum nun wieder Früchte trägt, spielt der Apostel Paulus an Römer ii. 17 (*der Ölbaum*—Petermanns Mitteil., Ergänzungsheft No. 147, p. 9).

It is a well-established fact that, as a result of grafting, both the new shoot and the old stock are affected. The grafted shoot affects the stock below the graft, and in its turn is affected by the character of the stock from which it derives its nourishment. Hence, although the old stock had lost vigour and ceased to produce fruit, it might recover strength and productive power from the influence of the vigorous wild shoot which is grafted upon it, while the fruit that is grown on the new shoot will be more fleshy and richer in oil than the natural fruit of the Wild-Olive. Such is the inevitable process; and it is evident from the passage in *Romans*, even without any other authority, that the ancients had observed this fact and availed themselves of it for improving weak and unproductive trees. The words of *Romans* xi. 17 show the whole process employed in such cases; the tree was pruned, and after the old branches had been cut away the graft was made. The cutting away of the old branches was required to admit air and light to the graft, as well as to prevent the vitality of the tree from being too widely diffused over a large number of branches.

This single passage would be sufficient proof to one who brings to the account a right estimate of St. Paul's character as a writer; but further independent ancient authority corroborates him, though set aside by modern writers. Columella v. 9 says that when an Olive-tree produces badly, a slip of a Wild-Olive is grafted on it, and this gives new vigour to the tree. This passage suggests that the tree was not very thoroughly cut down, for the intention is not to direct the growth entirely to the graft alone, but to invigorate the whole tree by the introduction of the fresh wild life. Columella does not say whether the engrafted shoot was affected by the character of the root; but St. Paul's statement that it was so affected is confirmed by the modern views as to the effect



of grafting, viz., that the old and the new parts are affected by one another. The fully grown tree is presumably able to affect more thoroughly the engrafted wild shoot, whereas in the first grafting the young tree was thoroughly cut down, and the whole was more affected by the character of the engrafted shoot, which constitutes the whole tree.

A frequently quoted passage of Palladius, who, though he wrote in verse about grafting, was also a recognized authority on agriculture and horticulture, confirms Columella and St. Paul that the Wild-Olive graft invigorated the tree on which it was set, though he adds, apparently, that the wild graft did not itself bear the olives which the rest of the tree bore: this last statement is probably a rhetorical flourish, and he probably means only that the Wild-Olive had never borne olives such as it caused the re-invigorated tree to bear. The fruit of the Wild-Olive was poor and contained little oil.

The comparison which St. Paul makes is sustained through a series of details. The chosen people of God, the Jews, are compared to the Olive-tree, which was for a long time fertilized and productive. The cause of their growth and productiveness, the sap which came up from the root and gave life to the tree, was their faith. But this chosen people ceased to be good and fertile; the people lacked faith; the tree became dry, sapless and unproductive. Surgical treatment was then necessary for the tree; the more vigorous stock of the Wild-Olive must be grafted on it, while the sapless and barren branches are cut off. In the same way many of the chosen people have been cut off because of their lack of faith; and in the vacant place has been introduced a scion of the Gentiles, not cultivated by ages of education, but possessing some of the vigour of faith. The new stock makes the tree and the congregation once more fertile. But the new stock is helpless in itself, unproductive and useless, a mere Wild-

Olive; only in its new position, grafted into the old stock, made a member of the ancient congregation of God, is it good and fertile; it depends on and is supported by the old root. Faith, or the want of faith, determines the lot of all; if the Gentiles, who have been introduced into the old congregation of God, lose their faith, they too shall be cut off in their turn; as every unproductive branch of the tree is rigorously eliminated by the pruner. If the Jews recover their faith, and continue not in their unbelief, they shall be restored by being re-grafted on the tree. They are naturally of noble stock, and the regular natural process of grafting the Olive with noble stock shall be carried out afresh for them. They have far greater right, for they are the chosen people, and the noble scion is the ordinary graft; and if God can, contrary to the ordinary process, graft the Wild-Olive scion into the Olive-tree in certain exceptional circumstances, much more will He give a place to all true Israelites in the congregation and graft the noble scion into the tree.

This complicated allegory, carried out in so great detail, suits well and closely; and the spiritual process is made more intelligible by it to the ancient readers, who knew the processes of Olive-culture, and esteemed them as sacred and divinely revealed. Here, as often in the Bible, the reverence of the ancients for the divine life of the trees of the field must be borne in mind in order<sup>1</sup> to appreciate properly the words of the Biblical writers. It is proverbially difficult to make an allegory suit in every part; the restoration of the amputated branches of the Olive cannot actually, take place; but here St. Paul invokes superhuman agency for God can re-graft them on the stock, if they recover faith. Does he mean to suggest that, while this is possible with God, it is not likely to take place in practice, for the ejected

<sup>1</sup> On this subject I may be permitted to refer to "The Letters to the Seven Churches," 1904, p. 247.

Jews show no more sign of recovering faith and so establishing a claim to restoration than the amputated branches show of recovering vigour and deserving regrafting on the old stock? Just as the process does not occur in nature, so the spiritual process is impossible except as a miracle of God's action. If we could press this suggestion, then the allegory would suit with quite extraordinary completeness.

The reference to nature in xi. 24 is probably to be understood as we have explained it in the preceding paragraph. Commonly, the produce of grafting was spoken of by the ancients as contrary to nature, and was compared with the adoption of children by men, which also was contrasted with the natural process of generation. But here the ordinary and invariable process of grafting with a noble scion is called natural, while the unusual and exceptional process of grafting with the Wild-Olive is said to be contrary to nature. The changed point of view is obviously justified, and needs no further explanation.

I do not know with certainty how far it is safe to press the expression used by St. Paul, "some of the branches were cut off." It is a well-known and familiar fact that every young Olive-tree when grafted with a shoot of the cultivated Olive is pruned and cut down so thoroughly that hardly anything is left of it but one bare stem, on which the new scion is grafted. Thus the entire energy of the young tree is directed into the new graft. Does St. Paul imply that, in the process of grafting at a later period of growth, when the tree has become enfeebled, only some of the old branches were cut away, while others were allowed to remain? Both Columella and Palladius seem favourable to this interpretation. I should be glad to receive correction or additional information on this point; and I mention it here chiefly in the hope of eliciting criticism. What is the exact process, when this exceptional kind of grafting takes place? How far is the

fruitless old tree cut down? Is the tree left still a tree with some branches, or is it cut down to a mere stock. It is well established according to Professor Fischer, p. 31, that every fifty years the Olive ought to be closely pruned, and thoroughly manured in order to give it fresh vigour; and it is natural to suppose that the still more drastic method of re-grafting with Wild-Olive was connected occasionally with this process of rejuvenating and reinvigorating the worn-out tree, and that it would be accompanied by a thorough pruning and cutting down, though this does not imply a reduction of the tree to a single stem, as in the first grafting of the young tree at the age of seven to ten years.<sup>1</sup>

The idea in this re-grafting evidently is that re-invigoration will be best accomplished by mixture with a strange and widely diverse stock; and this idea has sound scientific basis. It is not strange that the ancient rules of culture implied the knowledge of such secret and obscure facts. The account given in the present writer's *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 273, of the rules for maintaining the highest quality in the Angora goat (as observed in its original home) may be compared here. It is necessary to recur occasionally to the natural ground-stock, the original and fundamental basis of the Olive; and though the existing Wild-Olive is not exactly the fundamental and original stock, it is as near it as the possibilities of the case permit, and crossing with the Wild-Olive is the only way possible now of replacing the weakened original elements in the cultivated tree.

Most of the modern writers on this subject have been betrayed by the assumption (which they almost all seem to make<sup>2</sup>) that St. Paul is here speaking of the ordinary process of grafting the young Olive-tree. This grafting is a

<sup>1</sup> The nature of the Wild-Olive is discussed in Part II.

<sup>2</sup> Ewbank (quoted by Howson in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, ii. 622) has taken so far the right view; but I have not access to his Commentary.

necessary and universal fact of Olive-culture. An ungrafted tree will never produce really good fruit, however noble be the stock from which it is derived. The process is familiar ; and yet it must be briefly described in order to eliminate a certain error. The Olive is grown from a shoot of a good tree, planted in well-prepared ground, carefully tended and treated. When the young tree is seven to ten years old, it is grafted with a shoot from the best stock procurable. The Wild-Olive plays no part whatsoever in the life of the ordinary Olive-tree, which is of noble stock and grafted anew from noble stock.

St. Paul was not referring to that process when he used the words of xi. 17. He was quite aware of the character of that process, and clearly refers to it in xi. 24, when that verse is properly understood. But in xi. 17, he describes a totally different and, as he clearly intimates, unusual process, employed only in exceptional circumstances (as Columella also implies); when the Wild-Olive was called in to cure the inefficiency of the cultivated tree.

Two different kinds of unfavourable comment are made on this passage. Some writers consider that St. Paul is merely supposing a case, and does not intend to suggest that this is a possible or actually used method of grafting ; this supposed case illustrates his argument, and he moulds his language accordingly. Other writers consider that St. Paul was wholly ignorant of the nature of the case ; that he had heard vaguely of the process of grafting, and fancied that a wild shoot was grafted on a good tree ; and they rightly add that such ignorance would prove him to have been wholly uninterested in the outer world.

The first view—that St. Paul merely takes this impossible and unused method of grafting as an illustration of his argument, without implying that it was actually employed in Olive-culture—has been widely held by British scholars. It is stated very strongly and precisely in what may fairly

be styled the standard Commentary on Romans, by Professors Sanday and Headlam, and we shall have their work chiefly in mind in this connexion.<sup>1</sup>

This view seems unsatisfactory. St. Paul is attempting to describe a certain remarkable spiritual process, to make it clear to his readers, to enable them to understand how it was possible and how it was brought about. The spiritual process was in itself, at first sight, improbable and difficult to reconcile with the nature of God, who in it cuts off some of the people that He had Himself chosen and puts in their place strangers of a race which He had not chosen and which therefore was inferior. This seemingly unnatural process is, according to the view in question, commended to the intelligence of the readers by comparing it with a non-existent process in Olive-culture—"one which would be valueless and is never performed," to use the clear and pointed words of the two above-named authors. They say that "the whole strength of St. Paul's argument depends on the process being an unnatural one; it is beside the point, therefore, to quote passages from classical writers, which even if they seem to support St. Paul's language describe a process which can never be actually used. They could only show the ignorance of others, they would not justify him."

It is, however, hard to see how a spiritual process, confessedly contrary to nature and improbable, is made more intelligible by comparing it with a process in external nature, which is never employed, because it would be useless and even mischievous if it were employed. Other writers have tried to make spiritual processes credible by showing that similar processes occur in external nature. St. Paul, according to this view, proves that the spiritual

<sup>1</sup> I hope that I shall not misrepresent their view. Owing to certain wide-spread misapprehensions about Olive-culture (described in the sequel), I have found some difficulty in catching their real meaning, in spite of the apparent clearness and sharpness of their language.

process is credible, because it resembles a process impossible in and contrary to external nature.

We cannot accept such a view—in spite of our respect and admiration for the distinguished scholars who have advocated it. Nor can we admit that they are justified in setting aside the statement of a writer like Columella with the offhand dictum that it “shows his ignorance.” Columella, in a formal treatise on horticulture, v. 9, describes very fully the process, stage by stage. He describes it as unusual and exceptional; and he describes in another chapter, v. 11, the usual and regular process of grafting. The fact is that it is the modern commentators who have misunderstood and misjudged. Columella, Palladius, and St. Paul agree and are right: and modern science has justified them, as we shall see.

Rejecting this first view, and concluding that St. Paul was here quoting what he believed to be an actual process used in external nature in order to make intelligible a spiritual process, we may for a moment glance at the other view, that his belief was wholly wrong. Thus, for example, Mr. Baring Gould, in his *Study of St. Paul*, p. 275, finds in this passage of Romans the occasion for one of his contemptuous outbursts against the narrowness, dulness and ignorance of the Apostle. “Inspiration,” he says, “did not prevent him from bungling in the matter of grafting of an Olive-tree, and from producing a bad argument through want of observing a very simple process in arboriculture.”

It would certainly be a very strong proof of blindness to the character of external nature, if St. Paul had been mistaken in thinking that this process was used; and it would fully justify some very strong inference as to his character and habit of mind. This point is one that deserves some notice. Olive-culture may seem to the northern mind a remote and unfamiliar subject, about which a philosopher might remain ignorant. Even in the Mediterranean lands

it is now very far from being as important as it was in ancient times. It was practically impossible for a thinker, at that time, if brought up in the Greek or Syrian world, to be ignorant of the salient facts about the nature of the Olive, and yet to be abreast of the thought and knowledge of his time. So important was the Olive to the ancient world, so impressive and noteworthy were its nature and culture, so much of life and thought and education was associated with it, that a gross mistake about the subject would imply such a degree of intellectual blindness as is quite inconsistent with the conception of St. Paul which the present writer believes to be right.

About three years after grafting the young tree begins to bear fruit; but eight or nine years are required before it produces plentifully. Thus Olive-trees require from fifteen to nineteen years before they begin to repay the work and expense that have been lavished on them. Such a slow return will not begin to tempt men except in an age of peace and complete security for property. The cultivation, when once established, may last through a state of war and uncertainty—if not too protracted or too barbarous in character—but it could not be introduced except in an age of peace and security. The Olive was the latest and highest gift of the mother goddess to her people.

The Olive has therefore always been symbolical of an orderly, peaceful, settled social system. The suppliants who begged for peace, or sought to be purified from guilt and restored to participation in society, according to Greek custom (probably derived immediately from Asia Minor)<sup>1</sup> carried in their hands an Olive-bough. On the other hand, a district which was dependent for its prosperity on Olive-cultivation suffered far more than others from the ravages of war, when the war, as was not uncommon in a barbarous

<sup>1</sup> See an article on the *Religion of Asia Minor* in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, v. p. 127.



age, was carried to the savage extreme of destroying the fields and property of the raided or conquered country. At the best the ruin was practically complete until the new Olive-trees which were planted had time to grow to the fully productive stage about seventeen years later. But, if security was not felt, if people were afraid to risk their labour and money in outlay which might be seized by others long before it could begin to be remunerative, the ruin was permanent, and the country sank to a lower economic and social stage ; it was impoverished, and could only support a much more scanty population. As an example of the effect of the Olive-cultivation on the density of population Professor Fischer<sup>1</sup> mentions that in the arrondissement Grasse in the south of France, one-third of the land, in which Olives were produced, contained in 1880 a population of 60,000, while the other two-thirds, where no Olives grew, supported only 10,000 people. The importance of this production becomes more evident when one remembers that the Olive grows most richly on hill-slopes, where the soil is thin and scanty, and otherwise of little value ; while the rich soil of well-watered plains produces fruit large in size, but poor in oil. Abundant air, light and sunshine are necessary, and these can be best obtained on sloping ground, while artificial enriching of the soil supplies all the needed nourishment to the tree.

Several passages in the Bible refer to the uncertainty of possession in Olive-trees that results from war. The Israelites were promised the ownership of Olive-trees in Palestine which they had not planted (Joshua xxiv. 13 Deuteronomy vi. 11). Such is the invariable anticipation of the tribes from the desert, which from time immemorial have been pressing in towards the rich lands of Syria, eager to seize and enjoy the fruits of the cultivated ground which others have prepared. The anticipation can be best

<sup>1</sup> In his treatise *der Oelbaum*, p. 2.

realized if the conquest is quick and sudden. In case of a long resistance and a tedious evenly balanced contest, the land is injured more and the fruit-trees are cut down ; the inhabitants of a besieged city may cut down the fruit-trees to prevent the enemy from sheltering behind them in their attack, or the besiegers may cut them to make engines and other means of attack (as the Crusaders did at Jerusalem in 1099). Invaders who are repulsed, or who are not strong enough to hope for permanent possession of the land, were the worst of all in ancient warfare. They commonly burnt, ravaged, and destroyed from mere wanton desire to do as much harm as possible to the country and the enemy who possessed it.

As the cultivation of the Olive requires so much prudence, foresight and self-denial in the present for the sake of gain in the distant future, it belongs to a higher order of civilization, and in modern times it has almost entirely ceased in many Mohammedan countries, and where it persists in them it is practised, so far at least as the present writer's experience extends, almost solely by Christians. In part this is due to the savage nature of the Mohammedan wars ; but that is not the whole reason. The Olives were not wholly cut down at the conquest, for it was too rapid and easy, but they suffered terribly in the Crusaders' wars ; though even so close to Jerusalem as the Garden of Gethsemane there are still some trees which, according to common belief, pay only the tax levied on Olives that existed before the conquest, and not the higher tax levied on those which were planted after the conquest.

But Mohammedanism is not favourable to the quality of far-sighted prudence needed in Olive-culture : the Mohammedan tends to the opinion that man ought not to look fifteen or nineteen years ahead, but should live in the present year and leave the future to God. Where this quality of prudence fails, Olive-culture must degenerate, since the preparation for a distant future, which is needed

at every stage, becomes neglected more and more as time passes. Thus, even in Corfu, it is said, the culture has much degenerated, owing to the people becoming idle, careless and improvident. At Athens the Olives of the famous groves are now over-supplied with water, and the fruit has become large and oil-less: whereas in ancient times that grove produced finer and more abundant oil than any other trees.

In short, the Olive is a tree that is associated with a high order of thought and a high standard of conduct. It demands these; it fosters them; and it degenerates or ceases where the population loses them. In the beginning the collective experience and wisdom of a people living for generations in a state of comparative peace<sup>1</sup> formulated the rules of cultivation, and impressed them as a religious duty on succeeding generations.

So important for the welfare of ancient states was the proper cultivation of the Olive, that the rules were prescribed and enforced as a religious duty; and, as gradually in Greece written law was introduced in many departments, where previously the unwritten but even more binding religious prescription had alone existed to regulate human action, so in respect of the Olive law began in the time of Solon to publish and enforce some of the rules to be observed. The Olive-tree requires a certain open space around it to admit freely the air and light which are indispensable for its growth, and in Solon's time the principle was that there must be a space of at least eighteen feet between two trees.<sup>2</sup> The wood of the Olive was extremely valuable, and there was a danger that short-sighted selfishness might cut down trees for immediate profit regardless of the loss in

<sup>1</sup> Hastings' *Dictionary*, v. p. 133.

<sup>2</sup> Plutarch, *Solon*, 23. The distance is inferred from the form of the order; a man must not plant a fig or Olive within nine feet of his neighbour's boundary. Professor Fischer, p. 30, has incorrectly apprehended the rule; he says that Solon ordained that Olives must be 9 ft. distant from one another, which would be far too close.

the future ; therefore an old law in Attica forbade any owner to cut down more than two Olive-trees in a year.

Dr. Post and others have well described the usefulness of the Olive in modern life in Mediterranean lands. Study of the inscriptions and authors shows that its usefulness to the ancients was far more highly esteemed, just as it was far more abundantly and widely cultivated. It was regarded as being more than useful ; it was necessary for the life of man, as life was understood by the ancients.

Such was the lofty conception which the ancients, especially the Greeks, entertained of the sacred character of the Olive ; and a modern writer might be justified, if he tried to describe in more eloquent terms than mine the importance of the tree. St. Paul might well go to the Olive-tree for explanation and corroboration of his argument ; but the effect of his illustration would depend with his ancient readers entirely on the correctness of his facts. They respected and venerated the tree : to make an absurd suggestion or display an erroneous belief about the culture of the tree would only offend the ancient mind. We, who have to go to books in order to find out the elementary facts about the Olive, and who regard the whole subject as a matter of curiosity, will naturally be lenient on a writer who errs where we feel that we should ourselves be prone to make errors ; but the ancients did not judge like us in this case. This is one of the many cases where ancient feeling and modern are widely separated ; and St. Paul must be judged by the requirements of his time. I almost cease to wonder that Mr. Baring-Gould became so severe a critic of St. Paul's character and intellect, after he had persuaded himself that the great Apostle had made such a blunder in such a matter, for Mr. Baring Gould is a man who has observed and judged frankly for himself.

If the process of grafting with the Wild-Olive shoot was a known one in ancient Olive-culture, the question may be asked how it happens that Origen was ignorant of it, since

he asserts positively that St. Paul in this passage is putting a case which never actually occurs.<sup>1</sup>

In the first place, it is evident from the nature of the case that this kind of grafting was not very frequent: only in exceptional cases was a tree in such circumstances as to need this surgical treatment. It might therefore quite well happen that Origen might know about the ordinary process, of grafting and yet be ignorant of the extraordinary process so that he declares as emphatically as most modern writers except Professor Fischer, that there was no grafting with Wild-Olive but only with the cultivated Olive.

In the second place, Origen lived in Egypt, and this explains his ignorance. The Wild-Olive was and is unknown in Egypt.<sup>2</sup> It does not grow in the country naturally; and, of course, only the cultivated Olive would be introduced artificially. Origen, therefore, could never have seen the process in Egypt, where Olive-culture must have made shift without this surgical treatment. Similarly, the modern scholars, who assert so positively that there is only one kind of grafting, are all ignorant of the practical facts, because they belong to lands where Olive-culture is not practised, and they speak all from theory, or as the result of questions which they have put to Olive-growers during their travels. Now, it is very easy for misunderstanding to arise on this subject: the practical growers even in Palestine assured Mr. W. M. Thomson<sup>3</sup> frequently that all grafting was done with cultivated shoots, because they were speaking of the regular grafting: the extraordinary process for surgical reasons was not in their mind at the time. Moreover, those men are always extremely unwilling to reveal the secret and exceptional processes of their occupation. An example of this unwillingness, connected with the breeding of the mohair goat, is described in the present writer's *Impressions of Turkey*, p. 272.

<sup>1</sup> The passage is quoted in the edition of Professors Sanday and Headlam

<sup>2</sup> Fischer, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> *The Land and the Book*, p. 58.

In the third place Origen evidently was entirely ignorant of Olive-culture as it was conducted in Egypt, and knew it only from literature, not from observation. He says that the cultivators grafted the cultivated Olive on the Wild, and not *vice versa*. But, as we have seen, the Wild-Olive is unknown in Egypt; and the Olive there, both root and graft, was the cultivated Olive.

Finally, as the most important reason of all, St. Paul introduced the illustration from the spontaneous fountain of his own knowledge; he selected a good illustration where he founded it. But Origen is here the commentator toiling after his author and forced to go where the author leads him, whether or not his own experience and knowledge are competent. In such circumstances the author's knowledge and statement must be reckoned higher than the commentator's, even if they were both equally unconfirmed from external sources.

It may also be added here that, not merely is the cultivation of the Olive now carried out on a very much smaller scale than in ancient times, having entirely perished in many districts and entire countries where formerly it was practised on a vast scale; it is also, in all probability, done now in many districts (though certainly not in all) after a less scientific fashion and with less knowledge of the possible treatment of weak and exceptional cases than in ancient times.

The method of invigorating a decadent Olive-tree, described above as practised in Palestine, is, I believe, not employed now in Asia Minor. But this forms no proof that the method was unknown there in ancient times. The culture has entirely ceased in many districts, and where it remains the methods are, as I believe, degenerated in several respects (as in many other departments of the treatment of nature for the use of man) from the ancient standard.

W. M. RAMSAY.

## THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.

### (1) THE SOURCES.

WHEN we speak of the "sources" of St. Paul's ethical teaching we may mean one of two things: Where did he get it? or, Whence do we obtain our knowledge of it? It is with the former question we are now to be occupied. For the Pauline ethic, even more than the Pauline doctrine, stands in a certain lineal succession and bears upon it the traces of its descent. The morality of the New Testament did not come into the world a wholly new thing with no discoverable relations to the past. Certainly it is not to be explained merely as a natural development of the past; yet neither can it be understood apart from it. The late Dean Church, in a well-known volume,<sup>1</sup> has traced the gradual unfolding of the Christian character, from its first rudimentary beginnings, to its culmination in Jesus Christ; and the reader of the New Testament who does not, as he reads, take such a backward glance can never hope rightly to appreciate in all its significance the ethical teaching of St. Paul. The central fact for the student of the Apostle's life and teaching is, of course, that he was, in the fullest and deepest sense of a badly used word, a *Christian*. But St. Paul was not only a Christian: he was a Jew, a man of Tarsus, a citizen of Rome. He lived at the confluence of three civilizations—Judæa, Greece and Rome—and each of them has left its own distinct traces upon his thinking. It is a due appreciation of these manifold influences which centred in the mind and heart of St. Paul that we seek in this opening paper. Great caution will be necessary, and our results must sometimes be inconclusive. It is always a difficult task to discriminate among the several forces which go to the making of a great personality, but the task is rendered tenfold more difficult when, as in the case of St. Paul, we have but the scantiest

<sup>1</sup> *The Discipline of the Christian Character.*

knowledge of the most critical years of life. Always mindful of this caution we may proceed to trace the ethical teaching of St. Paul to a fourfold source :

- (1) Graeco-Roman influences.
- (2) The Teaching of the Old Testament.
- (3) The Life and Words of Jesus.
- (4) The working of St. Paul's own powerful mind on the morally fruitful idea of the believer's union with Christ.

Our inquiry therefore will begin at the circumference and move inwards towards the centre.

## I.

It is the first division of the subject which presents the greatest difficulty. That the Graeco-Roman world did exert a very real influence on the mind of St. Paul few will deny<sup>1</sup>; but students are greatly divided as to the exact measure of that influence. Let us begin with a brief summary of the relevant facts.

(1) St. Paul was a Jew, but a Hellenistic not a Palestinian Jew. For many years before the Christian era the Hellenizing of the world which lay around the eastern Mediterranean had been going on apace. So great was the influence of Greek language, Greek literature, and Greek ideas, that it had made itself felt even within the well guarded home of Judaism itself. Gamaliel, the liberal-minded Rabbi at whose feet the youthful Saul of Tarsus was taught, was a student of Greek letters. "Even in Palestine itself," says Canon Hicks, "there were Hellenists who not only read their Scriptures in Greek but who prayed also in Greek."<sup>2</sup> Still less possible was it for the Jews of the Dispersion to escape the spell of the new ideas.

<sup>1</sup> Sabatier does, however : "The influence of Greece upon the development of his mind seems to have amounted to nothing" (*The Apostle Paul*, p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> *Studia Biblica et Ecclesiastica*, vol. iv., "St. Paul and Hellenism," an



Seek as they might to avoid their contaminating touch, they became, however unconsciously to themselves, wholly distinct in temper and outlook from their more orthodox brethren of Palestine. The chief centre of Jewish Hellenism at the beginning of the Christian era was Alexandria, with Philo as its guiding spirit, and it is at least possible that St. Paul may have been familiar with the works of his older contemporary.<sup>1</sup> Much more probable is the Apostle's knowledge of the Apocryphal Book of Wisdom which emanated from the same school.<sup>2</sup> Beyond all question, and most significant of all, is the fact that to him, as to all his brethren of the Dispersion, the Old Testament—his "Bible"—was a Greek book. St. Paul was, without doubt, familiar with the original Hebrew; Gamaliel's tuition would ensure that; nevertheless, it is from the Greek translation of the Old Testament (which again we owe to Alexandria) that most of his many quotations are taken.

(2) Further, St. Paul, besides being a Hellenistic Jew, was a Jew of Tarsus, a city whose eminence in the world of letters during the Apostle's boyhood is well known. "It had been a Greek self-governing city since B.C. 170, and the enthusiasm with which it had taken up Greek education and civilization had made it one of the three great university cities of the Mediterranean world. Strabo

essay which contains in brief compass the best statement of St. Paul's indebtedness to Greece with which the writer is acquainted.

<sup>1</sup> See Jowett's essay, "St. Paul and Philo" (*Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans*, vol. i. p. 882).

<sup>2</sup> See the parallel passages in Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, pp. 51, 267. "If the books for which St. Paul wrote from his last imprisonment were any but sacred books, we may feel a tolerable confidence that the Book of Wisdom was among their number" (Farrar's *Life and Work of St. Paul*, p. 704). See also a series of articles by E. C. S. Gibson on "The Sources of St. Paul's Teaching," *Expositor*, 2nd series, vol. iv. Beyschlag, however, cannot discover in St. Paul's writings more than "some faint echoes of the Alexandrine Book of Wisdom" (*N.T. Theology*, vol. ii. p. 28). So also G. B. Stevens, *Theology of the N.T.*, p. 833. These conflicting opinions illustrate the difficulty already referred to of arriving at any definite conclusion.

speaks of the Tarsian university as even surpassing in some respects those of Athens and Alexandria."<sup>1</sup> Not only so, but the city was a very stronghold of Stoicism: a long line of illustrious Stoic teachers adorned its annals; Stoic philosophers sat in its chief seat of authority; it was the words of a poet of Stoicism and a native of Cilicia (Aratus) that Paul quoted in his address at Athens; and it was a Stoic teacher (Athenodorus) whose doctrines, we are told, most influenced Tarsus in the time of St. Paul.<sup>2</sup> Now, though we do not know at what age the Apostle left Tarsus for Jerusalem, and though it is in any case extremely improbable that Jewish parents so strict as we know his to have been would allow their son to attend the classes of a heathen University, it is not possible to suppose that a child so alert and open-minded received no impression from influences everywhere at work in the world around him. Moreover, even though early Tarsian impressions were never so slight and were quickly overlaid in Jerusalem and the school of Gamaliel, we must not forget the years spent at Tarsus after the Apostle's conversion and before his first great missionary journey. With the restrictions of childhood rent asunder, and with the growing consciousness of his call to preach the gospel to the Gentiles, is it likely that he would suffer himself to remain in ignorance of the movements of the great world of whose conquest for Christ he was already dreaming? Could any man have preached as St. Paul did to the philosophers at Athens, or have won his converts for the most part among those who had already been more or less influenced by Greek civilization and culture,<sup>3</sup> who had not first schooled himself in their modes of thought and ideals of life?

<sup>1</sup> Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Tarsus," by Prof. W. M. Ramsay.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. See also the same writer's *St. Paul the Traveller and Roman Citizen*, p. 854.

<sup>3</sup> "Where the Greek education was unknown, the new religion seems

(3) St. Paul the Jew of Tarsus was likewise a Roman citizen; and this fact also has left its unmistakable stamp upon his life. *Civis Romanus sum*—we see it in the dignity and ease with which the Apostle bore himself among all classes of men, in the respectful and often sympathetic attitude towards him of Roman officials, in conceptions fashioned, or at least coloured, by Roman ideas, and above all, perhaps, in a certain imperial outlook upon life and the work given him by God to accomplish. "We cannot fail to be struck," says Professor Ramsay, "with the strong hold that Roman ideas had on the mind of St. Paul. In theory he recognizes the universality of the Church (Col. iii. 11); but in practice he goes where the Roman empire goes. We therefore feel compelled to suppose that St. Paul had conceived the great idea of Christianity as the religion of the Roman world; and that he thought of the various districts and countries in which he had preached as parts of the grand unity. He had the mind of an organizer; and to him the Christians of his earliest travels were not men of Iconium and of Antioch—they were a part of the Roman world and were addressed by him as such."<sup>1</sup>

Such in brief are the facts; and it will be admitted they have an imposing look. We must take care, however, not to exaggerate their significance. In face of St. Paul's own emphatic and reiterated statements<sup>2</sup> it is vain to claim for

to have made no progress at all. The regions where it spread most rapidly were those where the people were becoming aware of the beauty of Greek letters and the grandeur of Roman government, where they were awaking from the stagnation and inertness of an Oriental people, and their minds were stirred and receptive of all new ideas, whether Greek philosophy or Jewish or Christian religion" (*Ramsay's Church in the Roman Empire*, p. 147).

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. See also *Contemporary Review*, August 1901, "St. Paul and the Roman Law," by W. E. Ball.

<sup>2</sup> It may be well to bring them together: "I am a Jew of Tarsus in Cilicia, a citizen of no mean city (Acts xxi. 39) . . . Brought up in this city [Jerusalem], at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers, being zealous for God" (xxii. 3);

Tarsus and the Stoics an equality with Jerusalem and Gamaliel as formative influences in his life. There is, indeed, no evidence that St. Paul was deeply read in Greek literature and philosophy. His style, scholars are agreed, bears no trace of classic discipline, and even so enthusiastic a "Hellenist" as Canon Hicks, though he thinks that "St. Paul's ethical teaching has quite a Hellenic ring," admits that there is no reason to suppose that he ever read a page of any Stoic treatise.<sup>1</sup> Even the parallels with Alexandrian thought which have been pointed out do not, perhaps, prove more than that contemporary writings on religion, all of which were under the influence of Judaism, exhibit some resemblances.<sup>2</sup> On the whole, therefore, we conclude that St. Paul, though never a conscious pupil of Hellenic teachers, was yet largely influenced by them. Nothing in the Graeco-Roman world of that day can account for the deepest things in his life and in his gospel, and yet it was mainly to it that he owed that cosmopolitan cast of mind which made possible his large and rich interpretation of the truth which came to him "by revelation of Jesus Christ." Not from Hellenism as its seed, but in it as its soil, there sprung up, in all its rich and manifold beauty, the moral and spiritual teaching of the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

"circumcised the eighth day, of the stock of Israel, of the tribe of Benjamin, a Hebrew of Hebrews; as touching the law, a Pharisee; as touching zeal, persecuting the church; as touching the righteousness which is in the law, blameless" (Phil. iii. 5, 6; cp. Acts xxiii. 6, Rom. xi. 1); "I advanced in the Jews' religion beyond many of mine own age among my countrymen, being more exceedingly zealous for the traditions of my fathers" (Gal. i. 14; cf. Acts xxvi. 4, 5).

<sup>1</sup> See the essay quoted above. The long-standing controversy concerning the supposed indebtedness of the great Stoic teacher Seneca to St. Paul may now be regarded as finally disposed of: see Aubertin's *Sénèque et Saint Paul*, and Lightfoot's essay, "St. Paul and Seneca," appended to his commentary on Philipians.

<sup>2</sup> Stevens, *Theology of the N.T.*, p. 888.

## II.

When from the influence of Greece and Rome we turn to the teaching of the Old Testament, we stand at once on firmer ground. Scholars like Sabatier and Ramsay, whose judgment concerning the significance of the Tarsian birth and Roman citizenship of St. Paul are utterly diverse, are one in affirming the greatness of the Apostle's indebtedness to Judaism.<sup>1</sup> How great that debt was few probably of his readers to-day realize. Misled in part by the vehemence of his own contrast between the "Gospel" and the "Law," we too often interpret his relation to the Old Testament in terms rather of hostility than indebtedness. Nevertheless, the indebtedness is fundamental. All the "advantage" which a Jew possessed because to him were intrusted "the oracles of God"<sup>2</sup> St. Paul shared to the full, and from the first. Early religious training owes its influence almost as much to the fact that it is early as that it is religious; and St. Paul's was both. "I am a Jew," he said to the multitude in Jerusalem, "born in Tarsus of Cilicia, but brought up in this city at the feet of Gamaliel, instructed according to the strict manner of the law of our fathers." "My manner of life from my youth up," he said on another occasion, "which was from the beginning among mine own nation, and at Jerusalem, know all the Jews; having knowledge of me from the first, if they be willing to testify, how that after the strictest sect of our religion I lived a Pharisee."<sup>3</sup> The chief text-book in such a school would be,

<sup>1</sup> "It is not the citizen of Tarsus, but the Pharisee of Jerusalem that accounts for the apostle of the Gentiles" (Sabatier's *St. Paul*, p. 48). "It is obvious that the Jewish side of his nature and education proved infinitely the most important, as his character developed" (Ramsay's *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 32). "The Jew in him," says Prof. Findlay, "was the foundation of everything that Paul became" (Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Paul the Apostle").

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xiii. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xxii. 8; xxvi. 4, 5. See also the other passages quoted above.

of course, the Old Testament, which from his fifth year would rarely be out of the pupil's hands.<sup>1</sup> "The heroes of his young imagination were not Curtius and Horatius, Hercules and Achilles, but Abraham and Joseph, Moses and David, and Ezra. As he looked back upon the past, it was not over the confused annals of Cilicia that he cast his eyes, but he gazed up the clear stream of Jewish history to its sources in Ur of the Chaldees; and, when he thought of the future, the vision which rose on him was the kingdom of the Messiah enthroned in Jerusalem, and ruling the nations with a rod of iron."<sup>2</sup> The results of this early training are visible on every page of St. Paul's Epistles. It has been said that the Apostle "thought in quotations" from the Old Testament, and a reference to the table of quotations at the end of Westcott and Hort's edition of the Greek Testament shows how little exaggerated the statement is. There are in all about 180 references; they are spread over all the Pauline writings, except the short letter to Philemon, and they are drawn from almost every part of the Old Testament.<sup>3</sup>

The importance of the Old Testament, therefore, as a source of St. Paul's ethical teaching is manifest. To be acquainted with it was to be brought into contact with a religion which, alone among Semitic systems of faith, stood for an ethical monotheism. The God of Israel was exalted above all the gods of the heathen because He was "exalted in righteousness." The uniqueness of Hebrew prophecy is a moral uniqueness, the uniqueness of Hebrew religion the stern and inexorable conscience at work in it throughout.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *EXPOSITOR*, 3rd series, vol. iv. p. 326. "St. Paul from a Jewish Point of View," by Dr. S. M. Schiller-Szinessy.

<sup>2</sup> *Stalker's Life of St. Paul*, p. 23.

<sup>3</sup> A convenient summary of the facts may be read in the second of the series of papers on "The Sources of St. Paul's Teaching" referred to above.

<sup>4</sup> See a striking article, "The Ethiopian and the Old Testament," by Dr. G. A. Smith, *Expository Times*, vol. i. p. 233.

Let the significance of one fact be well considered : among the many "companions of the devout life" the book of Psalms still remains supreme ; and if we may judge from the frequency of his quotations from it this was the book which lay nearest to the heart of St. Paul.<sup>1</sup> Nor are we shut up to merely conjectural results in estimating the moral influence of Old Testament religion. Pharisees and Sadducees fill so large a place on the small canvas of the New Testament, that we are sometimes in danger of regarding them as the sole representatives of religion in the time of our Lord. Yet others there were, like Zacchæus and Elizabeth and Mary and Joseph and Simeon and Anna, true children of the Hebrew faith, the story of whose sweet and gracious lives, like a clinging fragrance, hallows for ever the early pages of the Gospel of St. Luke.

It may, indeed, be urged that St. Paul was a Pharisee, and that if there is one thing which stands out more clearly than another in the four Gospels it is the moral worthlessness of the Pharisees' religion. Yet the names of Nicodemus and Gamaliel are sufficient to show that all Pharisees were not such as those against whom Christ hurled His terrible philippic. Moreover, the Jews of the Dispersion were naturally predisposed by their circumstances to emphasize the moral rather than the ceremonial elements of their religion. Absence from Jerusalem, on the one hand, of necessity weakened their attachment to Old Testament ritual, while on the other the gross immorality of the heathen world threw into yet more striking relief the pure and lofty precepts of Old Testament morality.<sup>2</sup> And, even if these things had not been so, we should still with good reason refuse to believe that a seeker after truth and righteousness, so sincere and strenuous as Saul of Tarsus,

<sup>1</sup> No less than thirty-three different Psalms are quoted by St. Paul.

<sup>2</sup> See Bartlet, *Apostolic Age*, p. xxi. ; Cheetham's *Church History (Early Period)*, p. 10.

was ever guilty of such moral baseness as Jesus brought home to the scribes and Pharisees of Jerusalem. "Every Scripture inspired of God"—the young student in the school of Gamaliel would have said it with a conviction hardly less deep than that of "Paul the aged"—"is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness."

### III.

From the Old Testament we turn to the Gospels, to the life and words of the historical Jesus. And in doing so our first impression will probably be one of surprise that the writings of St. Paul present so few parallels with the story of the four Evangelists, and that the Apostle so rarely deems it necessary to quote the words of Him whom both he and his readers worshipped as Lord. This apparent disregard—in so far as it is real as well as apparent—may be accounted for in two ways. In the first place, the Epistles were addressed to persons who had already been instructed, by St. Paul or others, in the facts of the Christian Gospel, and whose knowledge of them therefore the writer could safely assume. And, secondly, as will be shown more fully in the following section of this paper, "The Apostles do not *quote* Christ; they live in Him, and reproduce His mind in living ways."<sup>1</sup> In point of fact, however, the Pauline Epistles show no such indifference to the history and teaching contained in the Gospels as has sometimes been supposed. How indeed could their author have been indifferent? Was it not to him a matter of the first importance to know everything that could be known concerning the life and words of Him whose willing slave he had now become? Can we not imagine with what

<sup>1</sup> Denney's *Studies in Theology*, p. 185. The statement as it stands requires modification; for, as we shall see, St. Paul sometimes does quote Christ's words; nevertheless, it points to what is perhaps the most vital fact for the right understanding of the Epistles in their relation to the Gospels.



eagerness of desire he would hoard up every scrap of knowledge that came within his reach? To suppose that after his conversion, with all the opportunities which presented themselves to him, St. Paul should yet have been content to remain in ignorance of what Jesus had said and done is simply not thinkable. Moreover, this *prima facie* view of the matter is abundantly confirmed by a careful examination of the Epistles themselves. It is impossible and needless to repeat here the evidence which has been adequately set forth elsewhere<sup>1</sup>; it must suffice for the present briefly to illustrate St. Paul's indebtedness as an ethical teacher to the moral precepts and example of our Lord.

(1) In a few instances the Apostle makes a direct reference to the words of Christ. Thus, in the address to the Ephesian elders we read, "Ye ought to remember the words of the Lord Jesus, how He Himself said, It is more blessed to give than to receive" (Acts xx. 35). Again, in his teaching on marriage and divorce (1 Cor. vii.), he makes a clear distinction between a commandment (*ἐπιταγή*) of Christ, and a judgment (*γνώμη*) of his own, given on a matter concerning which Christ has left no specific injunction: "Unto the married I give charge, yea, not I, but the Lord, that the wife depart not from her husband (but and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or else be reconciled to her husband); and that the husband leave not his wife"—where the allusion to our Lord's teaching concerning divorce is unmistakable. Other illustrations may be found in 1 Corinthians ix. 14 and 1 Timothy vi. 3.<sup>2</sup>

(2) In other passages, again, though there is no exact quotation, the parallelism is so striking as to suggest at once a reference to the words of Christ. Especially is this

<sup>1</sup> See especially Knowling's *Witness of the Epistles*, Sabatier's *Apostle Paul*, pp. 76-85, and a series of articles on "The Historical Christ of St. Paul," by Dr. George Matheson, *Expositor*, 2nd series, vols. i., ii.

<sup>2</sup> Sabatier's note on the former of these texts is worthy of quotation:

so in the great ethical chapters Romans xii.-xiv., as the following examples will show :—

Rom. xii. 14: "Bless them that persecute you; bless, and curse not."

Rom. xiii. 7: "Render to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due," etc.

Rom. xiii. 9: "And if there be any other commandment, it is summed up in this word, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

Matt. v. 44: "Love your enemies, and pray for them that persecute you."

Matt. xxii. 21: "Render therefore unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; and unto God the things that are God's."

Matt. xxii. 39, 40: "And a second like unto it is this, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. On these two commandments hangeth the whole law, and the prophets."<sup>1</sup>

(3) But the most noteworthy passages for our present purpose are those which refer to Christ as our example. St. Paul bids the Corinthians be "imitators" of him as he is of Christ (1 Cor. xi. 1); he urges the Philippians to let the mind which was in Christ be also in them (Phil. ii. 5); he prays for the Colossians that they may "walk worthily of the Lord" (Col. i. 11); and he commends the Thessalonians because they had become imitators both of him and of Christ (1 Thess. i. 5). But now does not all this imply—indeed can it be understood without—"an objective and historical model which every believer keeps before his eyes"?<sup>2</sup> Was it not to this model that the Apostle's own eyes were continually turned? When he speaks of "Him who knew no sin" (2 Cor. v. 21), when he exhorts his readers "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ" (2 Cor.

"The apostle wishes to establish the right of evangelists to live by the Gospel. He first gives a rational argument, drawn from the nature of things; then an exegetical argument, taken from a passage in the law: 'Thou shalt not muzzle the ox that treadeth the corn'; and finally he completes his proof by quoting a positive command of the Lord: *ὁ Κύριος ἀτάραχος* (comp. Matt. x. 10; Luke x. 7). Evidently the word of Jesus comes in at the last as the supreme and decisive authority" (p. 83).

<sup>1</sup> Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, p. 381.

<sup>2</sup> Sabatier.

x. 1), when he reminds them that Christ also "pleased not Himself" (Rom. xv. 3), can we doubt that he is going back, just as we do to-day, to "that sweet story of old" which he had learned from the lips of a hundred witnesses? It is not, of course, suggested that St. Paul had access to any Christian document in the form in which it has come down to us; what is claimed is that the resemblances referred to are sufficient to prove the identity, both in substance and spirit, of the Pauline ethic with the teaching of Jesus as it is contained in the Gospels.<sup>1</sup>

#### IV.

Hellenism, Hebraism, the life and example of Jesus—all these, like the intertwisted strands of a rope, are to be found in the ethical teaching of St. Paul. But, important as these are, much still remains which cannot be traced to this threefold source. When, in one of his most brilliant and trenchant essays, Professor Huxley declares that "Christianity inherited a good deal from Paganism and Judaism; and that, if the Stoics and the Jews revoked their bequest, the moral property of Christianity would realize very little,"<sup>2</sup> he not only ignores the very real and definite contribution which (as will be shown in the following chapter) Christianity made to the moral ideas of the race, but he wholly omits to take into account the truth which is the living root of all New Testament morality—that, viz., of the believer's union with Christ. He, and others like him, write as if the whole question of the moral superiority of Christianity were to be determined by a little table of parallel columns. In the first column you enter the chief moral precepts of Judaism, in the second those of the Stoics, and in the third those of the New Testament; you strike out what is common to the three, and what then remains

<sup>1</sup> See Sanday and Headlam, p. 882.

<sup>2</sup> "Science and Morals," reprinted in *Essays Ethical and Political*, p. 62.

in the third column is the measure of morality's debt to the New Testament. It is very simple and very misleading. Though, as Bishop Lightfoot has truly said, the Gospel is capable of doctrinal exposition, though it is eminently fertile in moral results, yet its substance is neither a dogmatic system nor an ethical code, but a Person and a Life.<sup>1</sup> And it is the omission of this vital fact from all such comparisons as those referred to above which renders them absolutely worthless and vain. Christianity stands apart from, and above, all systems of religion and philosophy, not by reason of the number and excellence of its moral precepts, great as these are, but by the new life of fellowship with Christ which it proclaims. Such, certainly, was the Gospel as it was apprehended by St. Paul. At his conversion Christ had entered into him, and taken up His abode with him and possessed him so completely, that it was but the language of reality and experience which he used when he declared, "It is no longer I that live, it is Christ that lives in me." He had the mind of Christ; and Christian morality to him was but the application of that mind to the necessities of his own life and time.

Once this great principle is firmly grasped many questions concerning St. Paul's ethical teaching are readily answered. We understand now, as has already been pointed out, why neither he nor the other Apostles thought it necessary more often to make their appeal to the words and authority of Christ: they speak as men in whom Christ dwelt, and through whom Christ still spoke. They did not, as Sabatier well says,<sup>2</sup> think of the teaching of Jesus as a collection of sayings, an external law or written letter, which they had nothing more to do than to quote at every turn. Christ was to them, above all things, a *life-giving spirit*, an

<sup>1</sup> Preface to first edition of commentary on Philipippians.

<sup>2</sup> *Apostle Paul*, p. 81.

immanent and fertile principle, producing new fruit at each new season. In this fact also lies the explanation of the comparative fragmentariness which, not without a certain plausibility, may be urged against St. Paul's ethical teaching. If we look upon it as a complete ethical code intended to furnish a ready made precept for every imaginable contingency of human life, it is obviously defective; but if, instead, we regard it as revealing to us a new principle of life, the effectual working of which is illustrated in the life and words of the Apostle, the seriousness of its claims will immediately become manifest. And, lastly, it is by the aid of this same light-giving truth that we may discover in what sense, and within what limits, we are called to be "imitators" of Jesus Christ. The imitation of Christ has been made, and with good reason, one of the great watchwords of the Christian ethic; but the phrase needs interpreting; of late years, especially in a certain class of popular literature, it has been sadly misinterpreted. The New Testament calls no man to a literal copying of the earthly life of Jesus. Imitation in that sense is as impossible as it is undesirable. Does any one suppose that if the Son of Man were among men to-day, in England, in America, in Japan, His life now amid modern social conditions would be just exactly what it was in Palestine 1,900 years ago? "Not to copy after Him, but to let His life take form in us, to receive His spirit, and to make it effective, is the moral task of the Christian."<sup>1</sup> So at least St. Paul understood his calling and ours. In Christ we find our example; in Christ, too, we find our new life. He is Himself the Giver of the life which He reveals and demands. *That Christ may dwell in our hearts by faith*—it is in the answer to that prayer there lies the root of all Christian morality, the promise and potency of every Christian grace.

GEORGE JACKSON.

<sup>1</sup> Schultz, quoted in Newman Smyth's *Christian Ethics*, p. 78.

### *THE VIRGIN BIRTH.*

THE attacks now made upon the narratives of our Lord's birth, however painful, were inevitable; they might have been predicted with much confidence. And for this reason. We had based our faith, our faith at large, too much upon proof-texts. A certain doctrine was proved by a certain verse; and as long as the verse was uncontroverted the doctrine was beyond attack. From such a point of view, it matters nothing whether a dogma (or a fact) is vouched by two Evangelists or by four. But when the theory of Verbal Inspiration lost its hold upon thoughtful minds, when the advanced critics—whatever else they did—familiarized the public with a way of treating Scripture quite different from anything taught in Sunday schools, when the average Sunday-school teacher found the defence almost as surprising as the attack, and even the Religious Tract Society translated and published a refutation of "the Critics" which gave a long list of contradictions, admitting the probable results of interpolation, codification and other interferences with the text, then the clear light of proof-texts was overclouded. A text—if such there were—quite unlike others, standing alone, proposing like Atlas to bear a world of theology upon its own shoulders, would be much more likely to collapse under the load than to commend its doctrine. Of this state of things we may think what we please; but it is the part of wisdom to recognize that it exists.

On the other hand, there is something remarkable and exhilarating in the ease with which substantial orthodoxy adapted itself, half unconsciously, to this great change.

An average theologian is not now content, for example, to prove the divinity of our Lord by half a dozen texts, removed from their context, and dealt out seriatim. He

will lay much more stress upon the pervading tone of our Lord's own utterances, His self-reliance, His claiming, one after another, all the offices which his own Scriptures ascribed to God, so that He is the Shepherd who divides the sheep from the goats, and even the Bridegroom of the Church. With these he will connect (what Christ Himself relied upon) the readiness of God in the Old Testament, and specifically of the Divine Spirit, to give Himself to humanity, so that, of judges who discharge a divine office, He said, *Ye are gods*. He will ask whether such a self-imparting, once begun, may not have been carried to perfection in Him whom the Father Himself hath sanctified and sent into the world from elsewhere? Such a controversialist may possibly not accept all the advanced theories concerning the old Testament; but he instinctively throws the weight of his faith upon the splendid and steadily progressive revelation, ethical, religious, theological, which (upon any theory of its origin) makes the Old Testament one great

altar-stair

That slopes through darkness up to God.

And in the New Testament he will take note of many verses beside those which explicitly declare that the Word was God.

This change is altogether wholesome; it is a movement toward a broader, fuller, better harmonized theology, in which the revelation of God co-operates with all the intelligence of man.

But at such a time, it is a grave assertion to make, that our faith in the supernatural birth of Christ rests entirely upon two passages; that it is unknown to the New Testament elsewhere, unhelpful to other scriptures and unhelped by them, a lonely tarn among barren rocks, into which no rivulet trickles, and out of which no stream flows.

When we add to this that similar narratives were common

among the pagan myths, the work of refutation seems to be pretty well advanced. We must not wonder that doubts are expressed, even though it may surprise us to hear the doubters leading their congregations in reciting the creeds.

Once more. The magic word Progress is employed in a remarkable way. We are warned that in the advance of thought and knowledge all around, theology also must advance, or humanity moving forward will forsake her. And that is hinted which needs to be proved, that in theology progress means amputation, and the highest development, unlike all development elsewhere, is toward the bald simplicity of the monad, not from this into complexity and mystery. It is progress, no doubt, to detect falsehood; but the Church has hitherto advanced (for upon the whole she has advanced, and that steadily) rather by comprehending her original deposit better than by tearing out articles from her creed. Every critic who has kept the faith is eager to assure us that his new views endanger nothing which the Church really prizes, and that even as regards inspiration, what is at stake is the method by which the documents took shape for us, and not their authority in the sphere of religion.

Upon all such proposed revisions of belief it is quite reasonable to demand freedom of discussion unchecked by prejudice; but it is unreasonable and a begging of the question to assume that Progress is on the side of negative views.

The belief in the Virgin Birth is said to be explicable by the pagan beliefs in the origin of heroes and demi-gods. But the difference is vast and impressive. It is a moral difference. The demi-gods owe their existence to passion and appetite quite of the human sort; it is because the immortals are capable of sharing these with



man that they are said to have given life to demi-gods; and the last thought which these myths could possibly suggest to any one is that of purity. Much is made of the fabled virginity of Danae. But Perseus is "aurigena," and the impulse which flung Jove in gold into the bosom of Danae is ridiculous to think of, as a conceivable source for the pure story of the birth of Jesus.

Justin Martyr, it is urged, declared the Christian story to be "nothing different from what you believe concerning those whom you regard as Sons of Jupiter"; and specially mentioned Perseus (*Apol.* i. 21). Now it was reasonable enough to urge that men who received the pagan stories should not reject ours as incredible. But the immediate context proves that Justin Martyr was quite conscious of the gulf between the two, for he declares, with a biting irony, that these tales, which he is reluctant to repeat, were written "for the benefit and incitement of youthful students, since all men count it honourable to imitate their gods." He pronounced their enormities to be the work of "wicked demons"—and from this it is gravely inferred that his belief in them shows the source whence the Christian myth evolved itself. But it is certain that a believer in such deities would find the narrative in St. Luke inconceivable; and conversely, that if once the spirit of St. Luke's narrative could have touched the pagan conception of deity, all such myths would have shrivelled up and disappeared.

But there is more to say. It is our turn to appeal to what we are so constantly reminded of, the two sources in which we find the story. The first Gospel is thoroughly Hebrew in its tendencies. Still more so is the very primitive source of St. Luke's account of the infancy: it resounds with Old Testament quotations and allusions; its whole structure is Aramaic. Therefore it would not be enough to prove (what has just been refuted) that pagan myths

could, in the abstract, have suggested the story. We want to be shown how pagan myths could have suggested this story to the heart and brain of devout and somewhat provincial Hebrews, and to them only—a point of which we are entitled to make at least as much as others do.

But there is another, and a very different aspect of this appeal to Gentile myths. Not only in Greece with her demigods but in India with the Buddha, and not only in the dim shades where walk the figures of hoary old mythologies, but in the full blaze of history with Alexander the Great and Plato, it is seen how easily man believes in the supernatural origin of whatever he, rightly or wrongly, believes to be supernatural itself. Destroy the supernatural, and the discussion is at an end. Give to the supernatural a grudging and reluctant assent; and it will be your instinct to clip and cramp it on this side and on that. But grant the supernatural frankly; and it will be easy to accept the position that the germ is as marvellous as the fruit. Grant the supernatural man, and the possibility and even probability of his supernatural origin follows not far behind. And this is the true significance of these myths: they are due to the consciousness of man that water cannot rise above its level, and what we believe to be divine we cannot suppose to have sprung from common seed. That this intuition was misapplied—that Alexander was no more than man—cannot abolish the profound significance of the intuition itself for us who adore Christ.

At all events, when we are told how strictly isolated are the two narratives in Scripture, it is worth remembering that they are an expression—but a unique expression, far above all precedent and parallel—an expression and interpretation of a world-wide intuition of the race.

The argument from the silence of other writers is easy to press too far; it is, in fact, hazardous in the last degree. For what is the scope and tenour of the other Gospels?

The Gospel of St. Mark is a record of the public life and death of Christ: "the beginning" of it is the proclamation of the herald. Its silence is only that of St. Luke himself when once he has passed away from the story of the infancy. As to St. John, it is his manner to pass over what has been recorded already—the parables, all such miracles except one which he related for the sake of the discourse it led to, the institution of the Supper, and the Agony in the Garden. St. Paul expressly declares that his Gospel, like St. Mark's, was that Christ died for our sins and rose again and was seen of sufficient witnesses. If it were not for the excesses of Corinth, he would not have mentioned, so far as we are concerned, the institution of the Supper. If it were not for one anonymous writer, the New Testament could have been said to ignore utterly the priesthood of our Lord; and if it were not for the Apocalypse the same could be said of the priesthood of the Church. We have no writing which professes to record all from the first except St. Luke; and he, supported by St. Matthew, records this.

Is there not something quite whimsical, when one considers it, in rejecting, simply because the others have not got it, what was avowedly written because the author had new things to tell—and new things upon this very subject, accurate information from the very first:

But is it true that they are utterly unsupported, uncorroborated by any other? Support is derived not only from assertions but from a whole manner of thinking and speaking, from inferences, from all that underlies direct assertion. What, then, is the New Testament manner of thinking about the body, the physical part of man? Is it only the spiritual part that matters? Can we say that all is well, as soon as our volitions and affections turn to God? Or is there in the flesh and blood of the race a centre of evil influence? And if so, how may this be overcome? Is it simply to be

overmastered by the spirit, aided from above? Or is there a renewal of flesh and blood, given from a new source, from One who thus becomes the Father of a renewed race of men? To ask this is to answer it.

The method of St. John, we said, was to omit what had been written already. But it needs to be added that he commonly substitutes something parallel, something which forbids us to doubt the harmony between his story and the others. Instead of the sacraments, the Lord's assertions that we must be born of water and the Spirit, and must eat His flesh and drink His blood. Instead of the Agony that earlier day when His soul was troubled, and He considered whether He should say "Father, save Me from this hour." Instead of the story of the Supernatural Birth, the words, "That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit," words uttered expressly as the reason why Nicodemus should not marvel at being told "ye must be born again."

Did He Himself, then, need to be born again? And if not, what was His birth? was He born of the flesh? For upon this, upon the inheritance of the flesh, all His argument depends.

That it does so depend is yet more manifest when we compare it with the teaching of the sixth chapter. "The Bread of God" is "that which cometh down out of heaven." "The Bread which I will give is my Flesh for the life of the world" (*vv.* 33, 51). Is this no confirmation of the doctrine of the supernatural origin of His Flesh?

This is also the doctrine of St. Paul. It is of the flesh, of the resurrection of the body, that he wrote in the fifteenth chapter of 1 Corinthians. He said, "There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body." He declared it to be the destiny of spiritual men to attain spirituality even of the body. And the reason he gave for this expectation was that a new type of humanity—a second manhood—was actually in

existence: that the first man was "of the earth" and therefore earthy; but "the Second Man is from heaven." This Second Man is, moreover, a Second Adam, which means the progenitor of a new race. And let it be repeated again and again, that it is of the body and its destiny that St. Paul is thinking when he says, "The Second Man is from heaven."

Again, what are we to think about the Eucharist? Behind all the dreary controversies which have done so much to spoil for us the dearest gift of Christ, behind much that is sceptical on one side, and more that is sordidly materialistic on the other, lies the vast incontrovertible fact that Christ in the Eucharist offers Himself to man. But what is conveyed in that ambiguous word "Himself"? Does it mean that since He is divine He will bestow on us divine influences to uplift and inspire us, that, as Ezekiel foretold, He would put His Spirit within us, and cause us to walk in His statutes? This is implied, but this is quite certainly inadequate to express the specific and differentiating grace offered to us in the Supper. For Christ did not use the vague word "Himself," still less did He speak of His Spirit, but of His Body and Blood, even as, in the discourse in John, He asserted that His Flesh was meat indeed, and His Blood drink indeed. Such expressions are incomprehensible—and so is St. Paul's declaration that the race began again in Christ as a Second Adam, and Giver of a Spiritual body—unless we believe that His Body was unique, a new thing, mysterious, primitive, the well-head of a river of new life.

One knows well enough what will be said of an argument like this. It will be set down as "mystical," and the tone in which that dreadful word is uttered will imply it to be refutation enough for anything. But for the moment this is not the question at all. We are not now considering whether to believe St. Paul, St. John, or even the Founder

of the Lord's Supper or not. The question is this: Whether the early portions of Matthew and Luke should be rejected on the specific ground that they are unsupported by others, or whether St. Paul, and St. John, and the Founder of the Eucharist taught such doctrine concerning the Body of Christ, His Flesh and Blood, that any one who believes them will find these narratives to be the simplest commentary upon their words, and easier to accept than to reject.

And it will be some consolation to find "mystical" considerations ranging themselves on the side of a doctrine which is apt to be decried as "carnal."

Again, the story has behind it the witness of another chapter in another Revelation and Book of God. That book is science, and the title of the chapter is Heredity. And it is surely providential that just when the scriptural doctrine is being impugned, the scientific doctrine should become so prominent. Prominent but not new. For it is little more than a restatement of our Lord's words, that what is born of flesh is flesh, what is born of Spirit is Spirit, and a really new life has a new kind of birth for its postulate and condition.

Thus, at last, a question which is sometimes regarded as purely academic and unpractical has led us up to the greatest and most urgent truth of our religion, which is not the depravity of man, but that his depravity is counter-weighted by this in the other scale, that human nature has truly and actually begun again, that we cannot plead in excuse for our misdeeds that we are "poor fallen creatures," nor weakly suppose that "flesh and blood cannot" resist a provocation, nor crucify a lust,—since Christ offers us, most solemnly and sacramentally, His own Flesh and Blood, and His people are born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but [born] of God—

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endowed with a nature which He has to give because it was His own from the beginning, and not only fresh and pure, but full of the pulse-throb of a strange and new vitality, and such that, whereas the first Adam was only a living soul, He, the second Adam, is a life-imparting Spirit.

G. A. DERRY AND RAPHOE.

## THE FORESHADOWING OF THE CHURCH.

(ST. JOHN x. 1-16.)

*"The great Shepherd of the sheep, even the Lord Jesus."*—Heb. xiii. 20.

"THEY shall become one flock, one Shepherd." These are the concluding, and yet in a sense, the central and determining words of the three parables or allegories of the Good Shepherd, recorded by St. John in the tenth chapter of his Gospel.

The first thing to be noted is that there are three distinct parables. In the first, Christ is the true Shepherd, who seeks admission into the fold, and to whom the porter openeth the door. In the second parable, Christ is Himself the door of the fold, through which all must enter, and still more; for He adds: "By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture" (v. 9). In the third parable, Christ reveals Himself as the Good Shepherd, who knows His own sheep, and who lays down His life for His sheep.

It has been beautifully said that of the three parables, the first picture is bright with the hues of early morning; the second depicts the active midday life and movement in the open pasture; the third is an evening scene, when the flocks find safety in the fold from the attacks of the midnight wolves.<sup>1</sup>

But the chief interest of the parables will be found in the circumstances out of which they spring, and which help us to understand their true significance. In these parables Jesus Christ is laying the first stones of the foundation of His Church. They are the first clear notes in this Gospel of a separation from Judaism; and this aspect of them shows their close connexion with the preceding miracle. The blind man, whom Jesus healed, was cast out and ex-

<sup>1</sup> Godet, *ad loc.*



communicated from the Jewish Synagogue. In his hour of distress Jesus found him, and revealed Himself to him as the Son of God. He was one of those who could hear the Saviour's voice, and had power to know Him. Separated from Judaism this man stood alone with Christ as his only refuge. He was the first to show that full discipleship of Christ was incompatible with Pharisaism. Regarded in this light, therefore, this incident is the beginning of the Christian Church. And it is at this point that Jesus sets forth the parables, which teach the same truth. He takes this occasion to draw as in a picture the features of His future Church, and to contrast it with the righteousness of the Pharisees, and the form which they had given to the religion of Israel.

Jesus did not wish to abolish the law. We know that He came to fulfil the law. He came sternly to rebuke the perversion of the law, of which the Pharisees had given a signal instance in their false charge against Him of breaking the Sabbath Day, and in their merciless treatment of the man healed of blindness. They had shown, too, their unworthiness to be the religious guides of the people in their inability to recognize the Son of God, and to understand the significance of the sign by which a man born blind was restored to sight.

In the first parable, then, the fold represents the house of Israel to whom the Christ comes. It is to be remembered that the Oriental sheepfold is constructed with an enclosure of high walls, and is entered by one door only, which is guarded during the night by a porter, who would of course refuse admittance to any one who was not authorized to enter. In the morning the true Shepherd comes and the porter opens, for he knows His voice. In these words Christ claims to be the one true Shepherd of Israel. The porter—whether this is to be understood of God the Father, as some think, or of John the Baptist—

openeth the door and Christ, the true Shepherd, enters. He calleth His own sheep by name and leadeth them out. That is, He founds His Church, in the words of St. Peter, of "as many as the Lord our God shall call unto Him" (Acts ii. 39). This is precisely what happened to the man who received the gift of sight. Jesus found him, and he heard the voice of Jesus and believed. It is to be observed that not all the sheep within the fold heard and recognized their shepherd's voice. All Israel did not hear the voice of Christ. Only those who could say with St. Peter, "Lord, to whom shall we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life."<sup>1</sup>

Here the Evangelist notes that those who heard this parable "understood not the things which He spake unto them" (v. 6).

Jesus, therefore, in the next parable becomes more explicit. He says plainly: "I am the door of the sheep . . . By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and shall find pasture" (vv. 7, 9). We mark here the significance of these words in face of the existing religious condition in Israel. There was the jealously guarded theocracy. Priest and Levite and Pharisee each claiming to possess the key of knowledge; all prohibiting any entrance into the Jewish Church and community save through themselves. Against these Jesus stands alone, and says: "I am the door." The claim seemed an impossible one, too high to be ever realized. But the history of the Christian Church is the wonderful confirmation of it.

Then He adds with clear reference to the Pharisees and other misleading teachers: "All that came before Me are thieves and robbers. . . . The thief cometh not but that he may steal, and kill, and destroy: I came that they may have life, and may have it more abundantly" (v. 10).

<sup>1</sup> St. John vi. 68.

This is to put into the language of parable and metaphor what Jesus expresses in other words when He says to the Pharisees: "Ye make void the word of God by your traditions."<sup>1</sup> Or what St. Paul means when he says: "The letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth life."<sup>2</sup> That is, the letter of Pharisaism killeth, but the Spirit of Christ giveth life.

These words, then, are the condemnation of a system which had overpowering influence in the Jewish community at the time—the influence which, more than any other, brought about the condemnation and death of Jesus Christ, and which, for a long time, even in the Church itself, was a force to be battled against with all the energy and power of a St. Paul. The spirit of Judaism was the most formidable danger to the Church of Christ, and to the purity of Apostolic preaching. It was this, then, which by one calm word the Lord of Life condemns. "I am the door." From the moment of that utterance it was determined that the entrance into the Catholic Church is not through Judaism and circumcision, but by Christ alone, through baptism into His name.

The closing words of this verse furnish a further note of the Church. For the moment the imagery is partly dropped, and the underlying reality is revealed<sup>3</sup>: "By Me if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and go out, and shall find pasture" (v. 9). The thought is one of Christian freedom and Christian dominion. The man going in and going out to wander beyond the fold into the spreading pasture lands symbolizes the Christian, of whom the Apostle could say, "All things are yours" (1 Cor. iii. 22); and who was heir to all that was best and most worthy in the gathered experience of the ancient world (Phil. iv. 8). He "found pasture" in the thoughts and literature of Greece, and in the laws and discipline of Rome,

<sup>1</sup> Mark vii. 13.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. iii. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Comp. Ezek. xxxiv. 81.

as afterwards in the strength and earnestness of the Teutonic character.

In the third parable (*vv.* 11-16) there is another and a still more beautiful revelation of the Christ—a further condemnation of the enemies of true religion and a third note of the Church of the future.

"I am the good (*καλός*) Shepherd." In the first parable Jesus revealed Himself as "the Shepherd of the sheep"—the true Shepherd that is recognized by the porter and by His own sheep. Here He is "the Good Shepherd," not only morally good, but in a complete and beautiful way fulfilling all the duties of a shepherd—not only, as in the first parable, coming early to His own flock and leading them out from the fold; or, as in the second, giving free and open pasturage and the gift of salvation to men—but caring for His sheep, and even laying down His life for them. This was a great revelation. It foretold the cross, and the foundation of the Church on the sacrifice of its Founder. It foretold, too, the strength and efficacy of that sacrifice, as an evidence of the courage and love of the Good Shepherd.

And who, in view of this interpretation, are the hirelings, who in the hour of danger "flee from the wolf," and are contrasted with the Good Shepherd, who lays down His life for the sheep? They are certainly not to be identified with "the thieves and robbers who enter in to steal and kill and destroy" (*v.* 10). On the contrary, they are men, who are expressly hired to safeguard and protect the flock, to ward off danger even at the risk of their lives. This duty seems to correspond to that of the Jewish priests and Levites, on whom was imposed the charge of sustaining the spiritual and religious life of Israel, and keeping it free from deadly and corrupting influences. This the priests and Levites had failed to do. They had allowed, without protest or resistance, the teaching of the Pharisees to pre-

vail, and the law to be made of none effect; they had failed to preserve the purity of the Jewish Church, and had betrayed the high trust committed to them.

This interpretation is strengthened by what seems to be an allusion to this parable in the charge of St. Paul to the elders of the Ephesian Church, who met him at Miletus.<sup>1</sup> "I know," he says, "that after my departing grievous wolves shall enter in among you, not sparing the flock; and from among your own selves shall men arise speaking perverse things to draw away the disciples after them." The Christian ministry had now taken the place of the Jewish priesthood. It is for the ministers of the Church to be true to their charge; to defend the flock of Christ from the false teachers—the grievous wolves—who threatened the Church; and not to be like the hirelings who fled on the approach of danger. A reference to the later history of the Church of Ephesus will show that the warning was not unheeded. That Church, though it had left its first love, still is commended because it could not "bear evil men," because it had put to the test some "who called themselves Apostles and found them false," and because it hated the Nicolaitans.<sup>2</sup> These are the marks of a Church which had heeded the warning of Christ, and His Apostle.

It is hardly possible to close this paper without calling attention to the remarkable parallelism between these parables, taken in connexion with the preceding miracle, and the prophecy against the shepherds of Israel in the thirty-fourth chapter of Ezekiel. For although commentators have referred to various passages in the Old Testament, and to other analogies in illustration of these parables, the peculiar appropriateness of Ezekiel's definite prediction has not been sufficiently observed. That appropriateness consists not only in the realization of the

<sup>1</sup> Acts xx. 18 f.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. ii. 1 f.

ideal Shepherd in Christ, but also in the contrast between the cruel and disloyal shepherds of the Lord's flock and the good Shepherd brought together in a single passage. And not only that, but in the contrast between the Church corrupted and ruined by false teachers and unscrupulous rulers, and the Church perfected by the presence and guidance of the Divine Shepherd.

In Ezekiel, "the sheep were scattered because there was no shepherd, and they became meat to all the beasts of the field" (v. 5). In St. John, "the hireling leaveth the sheep and fleeth, and the wolf snatcheth them, and scattereth them" (v. 12). In St. John, the blind beggar is rejected by the Jews and *found* by Christ—the incident which gives the key-note to the parable—so in Ezekiel the Lord God will require His sheep at the hand of the evil shepherds (v. 10); and, "I myself, even I, will search for my sheep, and will seek them out" (v. 11). As Christ came that His sheep "might have life, and have it abundantly" (v. 10), so the Lord's flock "shall lie down in a good fold, and on fat pasture shall they feed upon the mountains of Israel" (v. 14). But the most remarkable and instructive parallelism is between Ezekiel's prediction—"I will set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them, even My servant David; he shall feed them, and he shall be their shepherd"—and the words of Christ: "I am the good Shepherd . . . they shall hear my voice; and they shall become one flock, one Shepherd" (vv. 14, 16).

This is the last and the most important note of the Church of the future contained in these parables. Other notes of the Church shadowed forth in these parables have reached fulfilment. But for centuries it has seemed as if the ideal of Unity, predicted by Ezekiel, confirmed by Christ, and longed for by His faithful disciples—the sheep of many folds—has been irretrievably shattered. Instead of unity men have had to witness not only division in the

Church of Christ, but bitterness of hatred even between Churches and Christian communities which are at this day fundamentally agreed, but are paying the penalty of forgotten controversies and past negligence.

But however this may be, the promise and prediction of the Master hold, that unity is a note of His Church. If history has taught anything, it has taught that in this unity there must be diversity—diversity of practice, and even of organization. From the first there have been differences arising partly from national character and tradition ; partly from individual temperament and education ; but still more frequently from misconception. There are pages of ecclesiastical history which, in the interests not only of peace but of truth, should be re-written or unwritten, because they are filled with controversy about things unproveable or unessential. At times a glimpse of desired fulfilment flashes from utterances in unexpected quarters. One of the latest words of Pope Leo XIII. is an instance of this. On the first day of his fatal illness the dying Pope composed some Latin verses, the conclusion of which recalls some expressions in Psalm xlii :—

Quid te tanta premit formido? (Eviq̃ue peracti  
Quid seriem repetens tristia corde foves.  
Christus adest miserans, humili veniamque roganti  
Erratum—ah fidas—eluet omne tibi.

“Wherefore art thou vexed with fear? Wherefore is thy soul so heavy as thou thinkest on the past? Trust thou in Christ. He is at hand to pity thee, His lowly and penitent servant. He will wash out thy every sin.” Words like these form the bed-rock of Christianity. And it is on such a basis that an essential unity may be built, possibly before this century is reckoned with the past, possibly *long* before that, so that the words of the Master may yet be fulfilled, “One flock, one Shepherd.”

ARTHUR CARR.

### THE "STEPPE OF MOAB."

THE district in which the Israelites encamped immediately before crossing the Jordan is termed by the Priestly Writer the "steppes of Moab." There is no difficulty in seeing that the district intended must be that which is at the present day known as the Ghôr es-Seisabân. This is a well defined district with sharply marked boundaries on three sides. Westwards it is bounded by the Jordan, southwards by the Dead Sea, and eastwards by the mountains which rise abruptly and rapidly to some 3,000 or 4,000 feet above its level: only on the north is its boundary a little indefinite; here it dies away into the narrower parts of the Jordan valley, where the mountains project further forward toward the river.

The district is flat, though it slopes some 200 or 300 feet from north and east to south and west; the drop is appreciable on the west within a short distance of the Jordan, but the fall southwards is hardly perceptible to the eye. Consequently the English version, by rendering the Hebrew phrase (עֲרֵבוֹת מוֹאָב) "the plains of Moab," is merely inaccurate and not misleading. From the Dead Sea northwards the Ghôr es-Seisabân extends about ten miles; from the hills on the east to the Jordan the breadth varies; at the extreme south from 'Ain Suwême to the Jordan it is (measured on the map) but little over three miles broad, but for the most part the breadth varies from five to seven miles. From Khurbet el-Kefrein, which is about half way between the southern and northern boundaries, the direct line to the Jordan is six miles. 'Ain Suwême and el-Kefrein may with some probability be identified respectively with Beth-jeshimôth and Abel-Shittim<sup>1</sup> (distant from

<sup>1</sup> The connexion of Israel's encampments with Shittim (=Abel-Shittim) is mentioned also in earlier sources, Num. xxv. 1, Josh. ii. 1, iii. 1 (all J E), and Mic. vi. 5.



one another some five or six miles); these two places were, according to the statement in Numbers xxxiii. 49, the southern and northern limits of Israel's encampments, which extended westwards to the river.

The "steppes of Jericho," a term used by more than one Old Testament writer for the similar level on the west of Jordan, are familiar to nearly every visitor to Palestine. But the "steppes of Moab" are much less frequently visited, and even approximately adequate descriptions of them are few. Various spots have been described and ancient sites noted. But we owe to Dr. Tristram the most vivid description of the general characteristics of this country, and of the impression which it makes on one who sees it. Let me quote a part of what he says :—

We debouched on the plain close to where the stream from Heshban<sup>1</sup> issues. The vegetation had been rapidly changing with the temperature, and now both were truly tropical. . . . By the side of a cane-shaded stream, under a thorny nubk-tree, we sat down to lunch, and soon found ourselves surrounded by a gaping crowd. They were the very same who had stared at us in the Safieh [at the south-east end of the Dead Sea]. Meantime they had migrated northwards by the shore of the lake, to enjoy the spring pastures of the Seisabân.

Then, after describing his ramble to Beit-harran (= Beth-haran of Num. xxxii. 36) and back to camp, Dr. Tristram continues :—

My ramble gave me some idea of the extent of the Seisabân, by far the most extensive and luxuriant of any of the fertile lands bordering on the Dead Sea. *This abundantly watered and tree-covered district, often now knee-deep with green wheat, extends six miles from east to west, and ten to twelve from north to south.*<sup>2</sup> Looking at it from above, we can see how vastly it exceeds the oasis of Jericho; as well it may, with the exuberant gush of waters from the springs at the base of the range of the Moab mountains. Its extent and depth are by no means revealed by the glimpses to be

<sup>1</sup> The upper waters, I take it, of the stream which is called lower down the Wady er-Rameh.

<sup>2</sup> The italics are mine.

obtained from the hills above Jericho. But, like the Safieh, its thickets only afford covert for marauders.<sup>1</sup>

With this description in mind, I thought myself justified in writing, much as Dr. Driver<sup>2</sup> (though apparently with some hesitation) had done before me, in my Commentary on "Numbers" (p. 307) with reference to the steppes of Moab, "This plain is covered with trees, and well watered." Since then I have myself ridden through the steppes of Moab, and I now feel that my statement requires considerable modification. I should prefer that the note should run: "This plain is watered by several streams, and contains some fertile spots; in many places it is covered with scrub and, along the course of the streams or around springs, with trees."

To suggest, as Dr. Tristram appears to do in the sentence cited above in italics, that the whole plain is fertile, like the oasis of Jericho, is altogether misleading. Far nearer the truth is Buhl,<sup>3</sup> who speaks of the oasis of Jericho, and then adds that similar, *though smaller*, oases, covered with trees and cornfields, are found opposite on the east of Jordan. Dr. Tristram appears to have extended incautiously to the whole plain a description which well applies to the immediate neighbourhood of the Wady er-Rameh, especially as it would impress itself on one coming down, as he did, from the steep, bare, western slopes of Moab.

I was very far from covering the whole district, but I traversed much of it, and saw enough, I think, to form a

<sup>1</sup> *Land of Moab*, 347-349. The description given in Tristram's earlier work, *The Land of Israel* (ed. 2), p. 523 ff., gives on the whole a similar impression, though he there speaks also of "a comparatively barren flat" extending three or four miles S.E. of Nimrin (p. 527). The description, too, in the *Land of Moab*, p. 350, may also be taken in qualification of the passages cited above.

<sup>2</sup> *Deuteronomy*, p. 418.

<sup>3</sup> *Geographie des alten Palästina*, 39. Similarly Schick in *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, ii. 2.

fairly correct general impression of the whole; for the land is, as I have said, level, and trees rarely intercept the view, so that one sees well away in all directions as he rides. A brief description of the day which I spent in the Ghôr es-Seisabân may therefore serve to supplement or correct in some further detail the description given by Dr. Tristram—in particular to supplement it, for we did not cover precisely the same ground.

I left Jericho at 7.30 on the morning of March 14. It was a brilliant day, but much cooler than I had anticipated. I had with me a muleteer, who had accompanied me from Beirût, and an Arab of the Adwân tribe, Ahmed by name, whom I engaged at Jericho to be my guide. The country east of Jordan is much more secure than it was thirty or perhaps even ten years ago, and it is possible to travel without a numerous escort. I at least suffered no inconvenience during the week which I spent across Jordan.

. From Jericho I rode E.N.E. to the bridge over the Jordan, and thence, in an hour and forty minutes, at first E.S.E. along the track to Medeba, and then almost due south to the Wady er-Rameh, the lower course of the waters mentioned in the passage quoted above from Tristram. I struck this Wady at a point a little below the tomb of Fendi el-Fâiz, which is marked on the Palestine Exploration Fund map. From the Wady er-Rameh, still going almost due south and leaving Khurbet es-Suwême to the left, I reached the shore of the Dead Sea in an hour and thirty-five minutes. A ride of half an hour from this point took me to 'Ain Suwême, and finally, in about two hours more, I reached the Arab encampment just south of Tell er-Rameh, where I spent the night. It will thus be seen that I traversed almost the entire length of the Ghôr es-Seisabân by a line nearly bisecting its width, and retraversed about half its length by a line close to its eastern border. The following impressions of this district are

based on, and to a large extent reproduced from, notes made at the time.

The trees and luxuriant growth which flank the Jordan, and have often been described, extend at this point further on the eastern than on the western side; on the west indeed just here they form but the merest fringe. On the east, too, this belt of verdure gives place immediately to scrub; there is no intermediate belt, as on the west, of white, barren, marl hillocks. From the river the ground rises slightly. Looking back (some twenty minutes after leaving the bridge) from a small mound or hill, the combination and distribution of colour was striking. The foreground was greyish, greenish, purplish, with stretches of sand colour where the soil showed through; then came the bright green belt along the banks of the Jordan, backed by the white, glistening hills or mounds of marl; then the level behind, sometimes darkish, green around Jericho, white northwards; further back again the whitish hills rising from the plain of Jericho, and finally the purple Judæan hills behind. Some of the wadies cutting through these hills (some eight miles away) showed with great distinctness. From this point we rode on, often encompassed by rising swarms of locusts, through a level country. There were frequent stretches of bright grass and flowers, some shrubs too, but often rather naked soil. We reached the Wady er-Rameh at 11.55, and here I drew up for nearly two hours. It was now getting hot, and the shade of a large tamarisk tree was very grateful. The Wady er-Rameh is a small and shallow stream, full (just here at least) of a small fish of about the size of a minnow; trees and bushes thickly line its course and overarch it. At this point the south bank is for a short distance steep, and perhaps twenty feet high, but for the most part the banks are quite low. Oleanders, some in blossom, abound, and there are many tamarisks and some other kinds of trees.

Herbage was thick and plentiful, and seemed to be much relished by our horses. By the time we left the Wady er-Rameh it had become very hot,<sup>1</sup> and the Dead Sea seemed to recede as we approached it. Most of the country was sterile, and there was no shade, save for a moment or two once or twice as we crossed a tree-lined wady. We passed one or two small groups of Bedawin, mainly women and children. Close to the shore of the Dead Sea where we reached it was a small piece of sedge and brake; along the shores much brushwood was lying, and a number of small trees with trunks, stems, and twigs bleached white, were standing in the water to perhaps a hundred feet out from the shore. After lingering no long time here I instructed the guide to make for 'Ain Suwême. We reached it in about half an hour. It is a delightful spot, for it affords that rare charm in this country—the sound of running, falling water. It rises under a rock. I could not feel the water actually at the spring, but just below it was distinctly warm. Almost immediately below its source the stream is dammed to secure by division a second stream, which irrigates a cultivated patch of land a little lower down. Around the spring were great flights of large birds with long necks, long beaks, white body, and white underwings, deeply fringed with black at the tail end. When standing to feed, with closed wings, their appearance is mainly white, the head yellowish, the tail brownish to blackish. Seen thus they look at a little distance like a flock of sheep, as my muleteer more than once remarked. These birds, Ahmed informed me, are called Abu Sa'd (father of good-fortune), because they eat the locusts. This spot, and the neighbouring Khurbet Suwême, which lies about a mile away,<sup>2</sup> probably preserve the name

<sup>1</sup> Yet not hotter than on a really warm summer's day in England. But March, of course, is one of the colder months, and this year the season was, I understand, unusually cool.

<sup>2</sup> So the P.E.F. map, and this agrees with the relative positions of the two places so named to me. Schick (*Zeitschr. d. deutschen Palästina-*

of the ancient Beth-jeshimôth, which is mentioned not only, as already stated, in connexion with the Israelite encampment in the steppes of Moab (Num. xxxiii. 49), but also by Ezekiel, who regards it as constituting, together with Ba'al-me'on and Kiryathaim, the "beauty" (צִיָּה) of the land of Moab. In the Book of Joshua it is named as belonging to Reuben (xiii. 20), or conquered by Israel (xii. 3).

The track north-east from 'Ain Suwême, which we followed to within a short distance of Tell er-Rameh, passes through a drearier country than that which we had followed in the morning. The herbage is scant, water rare, and the soil appears to be decidedly sterile.

Certainly the whole impression of the district left upon me by my day's ride seemed thoroughly to justify the ancient Hebrew description of it as "steppes" (עֲרֵבָה). It is watered by some small streams; in spring time (like the "wilderness," מִדְבָּר) it is in large part a green land, yet none the less, regarded as a whole, it rightly ranks, in spite of its fertile spots, among the dry and comparatively infertile tracts of Palestine. It might naturally have been in the minds of the writers who contrast the "wilderness" (מִדְבָּר) and "the parched" land (צִיָּה) and the "steppe"

*Vereins*, ii. 11) took half an hour from the spring to the ruin. The note in the *Survey of Eastern Palestine* (i. 156) reads somewhat ambiguously, as though the spring was close to the Khurbet; it runs thus: "Khurbet Sûimeh (خربة سويمه). This is the Hebrew Beth Jeshimôth (בית ישמית). House of Solitudes) mentioned in Numbers xxxiii. 49, Joshua xii. 3, xiii. 20, Ezekiel xxv. 9. It was known to Eusebius as being ten miles from Jericho, near the Dead Sea. There is a small sandy mound or tell here, covered with chips of pottery and glass, and some modern Arab graves; also a spring (see 'Ain Sûimeh)." The note on 'Ain Sûimeh is as follows: "This is a copious salt spring. It was visited at the end of October, and was found to have a temperature of 80° Fahr., the air being about 100°. It was drinkable, though brackish, and is perennial" (ib. p. 14). Tristram (*Land of Moab*, 350) appears to refer to 'Ain Suwême only. Neither the *Encyc. Bibl.* nor Hastings' *Dictionary* mentions both the modern sites, but the latter speaks of a well, by which perhaps the spring is intended. There is, of course, nothing strange in the spring being at some distance from the ruined town; the same is the case, for example, with Ijesbân and 'Ain Ijesbân.

(עֲרֵבָה) with the typically fertile or wooded districts—Carmel, Sharon, Lebanon (Isa. xxxv. 1 f.), or place wilderness in antithesis to Eden, and "steppe" in antithesis to the "garden of Yahweh" (Isa. li. 3).

What this land might be under careful irrigation is another question, but there are, I believe, fewer signs of ancient irrigation here than higher up the Jordan valley. I myself saw nothing of the kind except the slight attempt at 'Ain Suwême, to which I have already referred. Speaking comparatively, so far as I actually saw the two districts, I found the growth of herbage in the Ghôr es-Seisabân far less luxuriant than in the Ghôr east of Jordan opposite and south of Beisân, through which I was riding for some hours a week later.

According to a common, but not altogether certain, interpretation of Numbers xxi. 20, xxiii. 28, the district (or at least a part of it) which I have been describing was also known to the Israelites by another name—the Jeshîmôn, i.e. the Waste. This term, as far as we may judge from its usage and from the usage of the root from which it is derived, had a rather more sombre colour than עֲרֵבָה, steppe. It implies lack of water (Isa. xliii. 19, Ps. cvii. 4 f.; cp. Deut. xxxii. 10) and cultivation (Gen. xlvii. 19). It is applied to the "waterless wilderness of Judaea," which is, in the vivid phraseology of Dr. G. A. Smith, a "falling chaos."<sup>1</sup> Certainly if the district north-east of the Dead Sea was called Jeshîmôn, it was a considerably less dreary and disagreeable country than its namesake across the valley. Yet perhaps we hardly know enough of the degree of dreariness and desolation and waterlessness necessarily implied by the Hebrew word to argue from the actual character of the Ghôr es-Seisabân that it cannot have been called the Jeshîmôn; and we must, as often, be

<sup>1</sup> *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 518. See further the grim and striking description of this district, *ib.* p. 312 f.

content to be left with indecisive arguments, and a consequent ambiguity in interpretation. I am much inclined to question whether the fact that the name Beth-jeshimôth (of whose *precise* meaning we cannot be certain) attached to a place lying in the district ought to have much if any weight in proving that the district itself was called the Jeshimôn; and it must be remembered that the point (or points) which is said to look out or down (רשקן) upon the Jeshimôn commands a view of the Jeshimôn of Judah not less than of the Ghôr es-Seisabân. On the other hand there would be a greater fitness if the reference in Numbers xxiii. 28 were to the district where Israel was encamped rather than to the Jeshimôn of Judah, a view of which is commanded by too many of the promontories of Moab for the sight of it to define the particular point which the writer is describing.

G. BUCHANAN GRAY.



LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF ECCLESIASTES.

xi. 8. Dean Stanley "told me that except the phrase ἡλίου δύντος αὐγαῖς he could hardly remember an instance in which a classical writer referred to the setting sun; the fact was, that they disliked the idea of sunset, and recoiled from the end of everything. Whether he was right—nay, whether he was quite serious in this opinion, I am not certain. At any rate, in modern as well as in ancient times, the *finifugal* tendency, as we may call it, is apparent. It takes manifold forms and disguises. It is especially noticeable in friends who, like Shelley, have a morbid abhorrence of wishing one good-bye; who feel this abhorrence strongly in proportion as they like one, and are fearful that they will never see one again; and who, though truthful in other matters, will resort to any evasion or artifice to throw dust in one's eyes as to the day of their departure" (Tollemache's *Safe Studies*, p. 374).

xi. 10. *Remove sorrow from thy heart.* "We are grateful to any one who reminds us that there is nothing especially meritorious in gloom. Virtue will not be its own reward unless we have the honesty to admit that we have not given up anything much pleasanter for its sake. *Un saint triste est un triste saint.* (The nearest thing in English may perhaps be: 'a sad saint is a sorry saint.') Apparently, too, people are apt to forget that cheerfulness of mind is a habit which requires cultivation like any other" (From *The Spectator*, August 27, 1904: p. 281). Cf. Dante's *Inferno*, vii. 121 f.

xi. 9—xii. 1. "When I first entered Ranelagh, it gave an expansion and gay sensation to my mind, such as I never experienced anywhere else. But . . . it went to my heart to consider that there was not one in all that brilliant circle

that was not afraid to go home and think" (Johnson to Boswell). Cf. *Rasselas*, ch. xvi.

"We have got a new family life, which is infinitely genial and charming and natural, which gives free vent to the feelings, and cares liberally for culture and advancement in life. Only the sense of obligation, of duty to God, of living forward into eternity has disappeared" (C. H. Pearson).

See also Jowett's *College Sermons*, pp. 133 f.

xii. 1. "I have made a sketch of a golden twelve-rayed sun with the clock in the centre. The rays correspond to the hours, and in each of the golden points a word is painted in Gothic letters. Here they are as they stand in succession: I. we begin, II. we want, III. we learn, IV. we obey, V. we love, VI. we hope, VII. we search, VIII. we suffer, IX. we wait, X. we forgive, XI. we resign, XII. we end. The advancing handle marks the hour and its word, and there is many a one we should like to pass quickly by, so as to tarry longer at others—but we must accept all the hours, the good and the bad ones, as they follow each other on life's inexorable great clock" (*The Letters Which Never Reached Him*, p. 206). See Jowett's *College Sermons*, pp. 1 f.

xii. 3-4. "After the water-skins a pair of mill-stones is the most necessary husbandry in an Arabian household. To grind their corn is the housewives' labour; and the dull rumour of the running mill-stones is as it were a comfortable voice of food in an Arabian village, when in the long sunny hours there is often none other human sound. The drone of mill-stones may be heard before the daylight in the nomad menzils" (Doughty's *Arabia Deserta*, ii. 180).

xii. 9. "That which the droning world, chained to appearances, will not allow the realist to say in his own words, it will suffer him to say in proverbs without contradiction. And this law of laws [i.e. nemesis] which the pulpit, the senate, and the college deny, is hourly preached in all markets

and workshops by flight of proverbs, whose teaching is as true and as omnipresent as that of birds and flies" (Emerson).

xii. 11. Bentham used to declare that his own thoughts were mainly excited by favourite aphorisms and proverbs, such as those of Bacon. These furnished the foundation for his arguments and the stimulus of his ideas and opinions. See Walton's description of Andrew Melville as "master of a great wit; a wit full of knots and clenches."

xii. 12. "Much reading deprives the mind of all elasticity; it is like keeping a spring perpetually under pressure" (Schopenhauer). Cf. *Religio Medici*, i. § xxiv.

"I have never cared much for books, except in so far as they might help to quicken our sense of the reality of life, and enable us to enter into its right and wrong" (F. J. A. Hort).

"More than thirty years ago I remember meeting on the Surrey downs a remarkable looking man: one who has been thought to be, as perhaps he was, a great teacher of this and a former generation. Shall I tell you his name? It was Thomas Carlyle. He said to me, 'I am wearied out with the burden of writing, and I am just come to spend a day or two in walking about among the hills'" (Jowett, in 1885).

"It is an uneasy lot, at best, to be what we call highly taught and yet not to enjoy; to be present at this great spectacle of life and never to be liberated from a small, hungry, shivering self—never to be fully possessed by the glory we behold, never to have our consciousness rapturously transformed into the vividness of a thought, the ardour of a passion, the energy of an action, but always to be scholarly and uninspired, ambitious and timid, scrupulous and dim-sighted" (George Eliot). See Emerson's *The American Scholar*, ii.

xii. 13. See Butler's *Sermons*, No. xv., at the close, and

the last paragraph of Sterne's *Sermon* on Ps. iv. 6, with his *Sermon* (No. xxxix.) on this text.

*Fear God.*

"It is because

Then thou didst fear, that now thou dost not fear.

Thou hast forestalled the agony, and so

For thee the bitterness of death is past.

Also, because already in thy soul

The judgment is begun."

(Newman: *Dream of Gerontius*.)

"This is the day that must make good that great attribute of God, his justice; that must reconcile those unanswerable doubts that torment the wisest understandings; and reduce those seeming inequalities and respective distributions in this world to an equality and recompensive justice in the next. . . . This is the day whose memory hath, only, power to make us honest in the dark, and to be virtuous without a witness" (Sir Thomas Browne).

"I have too strong a sense of the value of religion myself, not to wish that my children should have so much of it (I speak of feeling, not of creed) as is compatible with reason. I have no ambition for them, and can only further say in the dying words of Julie, '*N'en faites point des savans — faites-en des hommes bienfaisants et justes*'" (W. Rathbone Greg).

JAMES MOFFATT.

## JERUSALEM UNDER DAVID AND SOLOMON.

WE have seen that the Jebusite fortress, which David took and called David's-Burgh—our versions mislead by their translation: *City of David*—lay on the Eastern Hill, south of and below the site of the later Temple, and just above Gihon, the present well of our Lady Mary.

To this conclusion we seem shut up by the Biblical evidence; and it is supported by the topography. But for the questions to which we now proceed the evidence is more precarious. What was the size of the Jebusite town around the Stronghold? And how much did David add to it? To these questions we are not able to find definite answers, in either the topography, the archaeology or the Biblical data. In fact there is almost no archaeological evidence in Jerusalem itself. The Biblical references are meagre and the topographical data are inconclusive.

### 1.—THE JEBUSITE TOWN.

That a Jebusite township existed around or beside the stronghold Sion is as certain as that from remote times it was called Jerusalem. More probably than not it lay on the same Eastern Hill as the Stronghold, covering the rest of Ophel down to what was afterwards known as Siloam—more probably, I say, for its people would thus secure the shelter of the Stronghold and be near to the spring of Gihon. Nor does the narrative of David's capture of Sion introduce or imply anything else. According to this David marched from Hebron to Jerusalem

against the Jebusites, the inhabitants of the land,<sup>1</sup> possessors therefore of that town and some indefinite territory about it. They dared him to overcome them; nevertheless he took Sion, and dwelt in it, and *built round about.*<sup>2</sup> In all this there is nothing which implies, as many moderns, following Josephus, have asserted, that there were already two Jerusalems, as in the time of Josephus, separated by the central wady, the later Tyropoeon. Of course it is possible that the Jebusite dwellings extended into the wady and up the Western Hill. But the Biblical data yield no proof of this, nor of a double capture, as has been imagined, first of the stronghold and then of the town, by David. Nothing less than the discovery on the Western Hill of houses or walls recognisable as pre-Israelite, or of a collection of cuneiform archives would be sufficient proof that the Jebusites occupied the Western Hill.<sup>3</sup>

The only question, therefore, remaining is: whether Ophel presents a large enough surface for the Jebusite town? Now we happen just recently to have been furnished with some archaeological data, which assist us towards an answer to this question. In his last report on his very fruitful excavations at Gezer, Mr. Stewart Macalister gives some estimates of the length and the date of the outmost of the city walls which he has laid bare. "I estimate its total length," he says, "at about 4,500 feet, which is rather more than one-third of the length of the modern wall of Jerusalem." "After a careful study of the masonry of all the exposed parts" of the walls and "the associated antiquities," Mr. Macalister assigns the houses built over the ruined inner wall to the middle of the second millennium B.C., "every dateable object in them being

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. v. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Id. 6, 7 and 9.

<sup>3</sup> Sir Charles Wilson (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed.) suggests a small suburb on the S.E. slope of the Western Hill, where there are some ancient well-hewn chambers; and Dr. Bliss discovered others higher up (*Excavations at Jerusalem*, p. 288).

contemporary with Amenhotep III." But "as it is inconceivable that a city of the importance of Gezer should have existed at any period without a wall, the ruin of the inner wall . . . must have been synchronous with the erection of the outer wall which superseded it." Though repaired from time to time, this wall is "fundamentally of the respectable antiquity of the Tell el-Amarna correspondence," and "lasted from about 1500 to about 100 B.C." If, then, Mr. Macalister's observations and reasoning be correct, we know the size of a royal Canaanite city, contemporary with Jerusalem, and like the latter holding itself from the Israelites till about 1000 B.C. Its walls measured about 4,500 feet round. Now if we take Dr. Bliss's General Plan No. II. attached to his *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-1897, and measure from the south end of Ophel at the point marked "scarp" along the red line of "inferred wall" on the eastern edge of Ophel to the bit of wall uncovered by Dr. Guthe, and thence still northward to the 2309 contour line, and then 400 feet west, and thence southward along the line of ascertained rocks and scarps on the west side of Ophel to our starting point, we get (if my measurements be correct) a circumference of approximately 3,800 or 3,900 feet. That means space for the Jebusite town not very much less than the Canaanite Gezer; which, so far as we can discern from the Tell el-Amarna correspondence, was at least of equal political importance with Jerusalem, and from its more favourable position for agriculture, trade and other communications with Egypt and Phœnicia may well have been at the time a larger and wealthier community.

Let me emphasize how these last data, with which Mr. Macalister has provided us, prove the far-reaching value of his excavations. Not only has he laid bare Gezer itself in its palaeolithic, pre-Israelite, Syrian and Maccabean periods with a thoroughness and wealth of results achieved

by no previous excavations in Palestine, but his results have bearings, only beginning to become evident, on the history of other towns as well.<sup>1</sup>

## 2.—DAVID'S BUILDINGS.

It was on the Eastern Hill that David fixed his residence, and there that he built, or at least commenced his buildings. Immediately upon the fact of his taking up his residence in Sion we read, *and David built or fortified round about from the Millo and inwards*, or as the Greek version gives it, *and he fortified it, the city, round about from the Millo, and his house.*<sup>2</sup> Whichever of these readings we take, it is evidently the same site on which he dwelt that David fortified. A new feature appears in the Millo.

Winckler has recently argued<sup>3</sup> that the Millo was the ancient Canaanite sanctuary, which David destroyed and rebuilt. For this conjecture he offers no evidence, and there is none. The Millo, literally "the Filling," has been usually taken to be either a dam or a rampart or a solid tower. This meaning is confirmed by the use of the root in other North Semitic dialects.<sup>4</sup> The LXX. render it by "the

<sup>1</sup> It will not be deemed out of place if I call attention to the urgent need of funds for this great enterprise of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The period granted for the excavations at Gezer by the Turkish firman is fast running out, and unless Mr. Macalister is provided with the means of employing a much greater number of workmen in the spring months, he will be unable to complete his work. This has constantly grown in value, and as one who has had the opportunity of twice visiting the operations and seeing the details, I feel it my duty to make this appeal on behalf of the work to the liberality of all students of the Bible. The address of the Fund is 88 Conduit Street, London, W.

<sup>2</sup> Καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν αὐτὴν πάλιν (as if עָרָא or עִירָא עָרָא) κύκλῳ ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀκρας καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ. Cf. 1 Chron. xi. 8: *and he built the city round about from the Millo, even round about.* The Chronicler's text is awkward and appears to betray his difficulties with the data at his disposal. Note that Absalom came to Jerusalem = City of David, 2 Sam. xv. 87.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist.* ii. 198; KAT., 8rd ed. 289.

<sup>4</sup> In Assyrian the verb in one form means to "heap up an earthen rampart." The Targumic מִלּוֹא means a rampart of earth filled up between walls.



Citadel."<sup>1</sup> The account of David's building implies that it was not a line of fortification, but occupied a definite spot; it is stated that he started his building from it. Either, then, it was an isolated rampart, covering some narrow approach from the north on the level, towards the stronghold, which was otherwise surrounded by steep rocks; or it was one of those solid towers<sup>2</sup> which were often planted on city walls. The Millo has been variously placed by modern writers: by some at the north-east corner of Ophel, because of the words which follow it, *and inward*; by others at the north-west corner<sup>3</sup>; by others as a rampart across the Tyropœon to bar the approach from the north.<sup>4</sup> To the Chronicler the Millo was in the City of David.<sup>5</sup> It is impossible to place it more exactly.

David's fortifications, then, were on the Eastern Hill, and compassed Ophel<sup>6</sup>; they included, or involved, an ancient tower or rampart somewhere on the circumference. Within this fortification, all of which perhaps bore the name of David's-Burgh, he built, with the aid of Phœni-

<sup>1</sup> Ἡ Ἄκρα: LXX. B. x. 28, etc. This, if the Greek Ἄκρα is intended, would be evidence that the LXX. translators believed it to be on the East Hill. LXX. A. in 1 Kings ix. 15, 24, transliterates it Μελω; Luc. in 1 Kings xii. 21 Μαλω.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Josephus, v. *B.J.* iv. 8: square solid towers on the wall of Agrippa: τετράγωνοι τε καὶ πλῆρεις.

<sup>3</sup> ZDPV. xvii. 6 ff.

<sup>4</sup> G. St. Clair, *PEFQ.*, 1891, 187 ff.; Schick, id., July 1898, with plan; cf. id. 1892, 22. The Khatuniyeh has been suggested as the Millo, separated from the Millo by a tunnel-like passage, 15 ft. 4 in. wide, and connected with it by a bridge. On Guthe's plan, p. 217 of his commentary on Kings (in the *Kurzzer Hand-Commentar* series) Millo? is marked on east slope of the Western Hill above the Tyropœon. But this position is excluded by the datum of 2 Chron. xxxii. 5. I do not see how Benzinger (on 1 Kings ix. 16) concludes from 2 Sam. v. 9 and the parallel passage in 1 Chron. xi. 8 that the Millo served for the protection of the western town. On the contrary, these connect it too closely, for such an assumption, with David's occupation of the Eastern Hill.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Chron. xxxii. 5.

<sup>6</sup> No trace of an ancient wall has yet been discovered up the west bank or slope of Ophel; some scarps occurring there cannot be certainly identified as part of a city wall.

cian workmen, a house for himself of stone and cedar,<sup>1</sup> which subsequent notices imply was small,<sup>2</sup> and a house for the Gibbōrim, or chief warriors; and here also he pitched a tent for the Ark of the Lord, which he brought up, and in, to David's-Burgh.<sup>3</sup> The rest of Ophel below the stronghold, and perhaps the gorge to the west, were occupied by houses. At least there is mention of houses below David's own.<sup>4</sup>

The next question is: did David's Jerusalem extend beyond Ophel? On the east the town was certainly bounded by the bed of the Kidron, for we read that when the King fled from Jerusalem before Absalom he tarried till his soldiers passed him at Beth-ha-Merhak, *house of the distance or farthest house*, that is the utmost building on that side of the town, and then passed over the brook Kidron.<sup>5</sup> Jerusalem never crossed this natural limit to the East, though it is quite possible that the present suburb of Silwan existed from very ancient times.<sup>6</sup>

The opinion that David's Jerusalem extended to the Western Hill is supported even by some who place Sion on the Eastern.<sup>7</sup> For this we have no direct evidence. Only it is difficult to see how the undoubted increase of the city under David could have been accommodated upon Ophel. Confining ourselves to the data of the Books of

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. v. 11.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings iii. 1, ix. 15. The Chronicler indeed (2 Chron. viii. 11) says that the daughter of Pharaoh could not live in the house of David because it was rendered holy by the proximity of the Ark. But as the new palace of Solomon was next the Temple this can hardly have been the reason (Stade, *Gesch.* 311 ff.).

<sup>3</sup> 2 Sam. vi. 15, 17.

<sup>4</sup> Id. xi. 8, 18.

<sup>5</sup> Id. xv. 17, 18, 23.

<sup>6</sup> If, as I have suggested (*Expositor*, 1893, p. 226), En-Rogel was the name of a village as well as of a fountain, it may have occupied the site of Silwan. The old cave-dwellings in Silwan, of course, may not be older than Greek times (id. p. 315, n. 5; the cave-dwellings on Ophel).

<sup>7</sup> Sir Charles Wilson, art. "Jerusalem," *Smith's Bible Dictionary*, 2nd ed.; Benzinger, *Comm. on Kings*, 1 Kings iii. 1, and Plan, p. 217.

Samuel and Kings, we find that David spared the Jebusite population, and that therefore he must have covered new ground for much of the influx of his own people, and of the foreigners whom the organization of his kingdom and his encouragement of commerce gathered about him. Under David Jerusalem was no longer a mere enclave. It had become the capital of a considerable kingdom.

Even if we had not Biblical evidence that David organized the trade of his kingdom,<sup>1</sup> we might accept the fact as certain from the analogy of the commercial results of the organization of other Semitic kingdoms,<sup>2</sup> as well as from David's employment of mercenary troops, always a sure proof in the history of other Western Asiatic kingdoms of a large increase of commerce.<sup>3</sup> We may assume, then, the settlement by David in Jerusalem of many native and foreign merchants, probably in new suburbs outside the walls. Besides these traders, the large garrison,<sup>4</sup> the great number of royal officials,<sup>5</sup> their families,<sup>6</sup> the priests and singers,<sup>7</sup> the different provincials whom David drew to his court,<sup>8</sup> and the households of the members of his large family separate from his own,<sup>9</sup> must have greatly expanded the size of the town. Some of these various houses seem to have been close to the king's own<sup>10</sup>; others were at a distance, for Absalom dwelt two years in Jerusalem without seeing the king's face.<sup>11</sup> The town appears to have had

<sup>1</sup> David stamped shekels, used in weighing (2 Sam. xiv. 26), which we may take as evidence of other commercial regulations.

<sup>2</sup> See the present writer's article on "Trade and Commerce," in *Encyc. Bibl.*, where the instance is given of Telai ibn-Rasheed's organization of trade in Hayil.

<sup>3</sup> Id. §§ 48, etc.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. x. 14, xii. 81, xv. 18, xx. 7.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Sam. viii. 15-18, xx. 23-26, xxiii. 8 ff.

<sup>6</sup> Id. xi. 8, etc.

<sup>7</sup> Id. viii. 17 f., xix. 85.

<sup>8</sup> Id. ix., xix. 88 ff.; 1 Kings ii. 86.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Sam. v. 18-15, xiii., xiv. 24, 28; 1 Kings i. 5, 53, etc.

<sup>10</sup> 2 Sam. xi. 2, 10.

<sup>11</sup> Id. xiv. 24, 28; cf. Adonijah banished from the court to his own house (1 Kings i. 58).

one principal gate; the phrase *the way of the gate*<sup>1</sup> contrasts with the numerous list of gates in later centuries.

### 3.—TWO ROADS.

One bit of the orientation of David's Jerusalem has been preserved by the Greek version of chapter xiii., the tale of how Absalom invited the king's sons to a feast at *the shearing of his sheep in Baal-Hazor which is beside Ephraim*, that is the modern 'Azur, near et-Taiyibeh, 15 miles from Jerusalem, on the great north road. At this feast Amnon was murdered in revenge for his humbling of Tamar, Absalom's sister, and the rest of the king's sons fled. At first the news came to David that all were murdered. But as the king and his courtiers rent their clothes Jonadab declared that Amnon alone was slain, and soon the look-out reported the coming of much people on the Horonaim road: the road from the two Beth-horons, which coincides with the road from Baal-Hazor, a few miles north of Jerusalem. *And the young man, the outlook, lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold much people coming on the road behind him, from the side of the mountain on the descent, and the outlook came and reported to the king, and said, I have seen men out of the Honoraim road from the part of the mountain.*<sup>2</sup> Doubtless the watchman stood on some high tower on the royal residence; that he saw the Horonaim road *behind him* does not mean that he looked out of the back of his head, but that this road was to the West or North-West of his station, descending as the present road does from the hills on the north, and probably passing down the central wady, west of the present Haram area to the royal residence at the head of Ophel. The phrase *behind him*, or *to the west of him*, is an interesting little bit of confirmation that David's house lay on the Eastern Hill. Had it been on the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xiii. 84; LXX.

Western Hill, the watchman could not have had the north road to the west of him. And it further shows that Jerusalem was not so extended as yet to the north, that in that direction the view was not open.

The only other road made visible by the records is that pursued by David when he fled before Absalom (chap. xv.). It is called the *Way of the Wilderness*. There seems to have been an exit from the city of David on the north into the Kidron valley, for later, when Joab had taken Adonijah to feast by 'En-Rogel, the modern Job's Well, their company were not aware of the descent of another company from the king's house to crown Solomon at Gihon till the acclamation that followed this came down the valley towards them.<sup>1</sup> Compare the later mention of a water-gate near Gihon, which must always have been there. Once across Kidron the Way of the Wilderness led up *the ascent of Olives*,<sup>2</sup> to the top where there was a sanctuary—*there he was wont to worship God*.<sup>3</sup> A little beyond the summit Ziba met him with provisions for the wilderness, and David proceeded to Bahurim.<sup>4</sup> This the Targum identifies with Almon,<sup>5</sup> now Almit in Benjamin near 'Anathoth. If this be correct, the Wilderness was that of Benjamin, and the way led not round nor over the south shoulder of the Mount of Olives, but north-east up the hill. If this be so, then Beth-ha-Merhak may have lain not immediately under the north end of Ophel, but some way up the valley of the Kidron, and in this case there were probably a number of houses along the valley on the east of the stream-bed.

#### 4.—VIEW OF JERUSALEM UNDER DAVID.

Standing, then, on the Mount of Olives we may discern the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings i. 9, 41 ff.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Sam. xv. 80.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. 82. Probably the same spot to which Ezekiel saw the offended God of Israel remove from the Temple mount (xi. 23, xliii. 1 ff.).

<sup>4</sup> Id. xvi. 1-5.

<sup>5</sup> Josh. xxi. 18.

following to have been the aspect of Jerusalem in David's time. Where the great Temple platform now is there was a rocky summit with a small plateau, the threshing-floor of Araunah. The southern flank of this fell steeply to the northern fortifications of David's-Burgh with the Millo, a solid bulwark or tower projecting from them. A narrow gateway opened on the north, on a steep descent to Gihon, and the road from it turned northwards for a little with a few houses straggling up it till the Far-house was reached and then crossed the stream. Within the walls stood the Stronghold, the small house of David, the house of the Gibbōrim, with some other buildings, and close to the King's house the Tent of the Ark. Some further open space there must have been for the later graves of the kings. The wall compassed Ophel, with one principal gate, at probably the lower end of Ophel, from which the houses thickly climbed towards the Citadel. On the Western Hill our records leave a mist. Probably its slopes into the central wady, opposite the north end of Ophel, were also covered with dwellings. Benzinger, indeed,<sup>1</sup> thinks that "under David the southern part and eastern slopes of the Western Hill were already built upon." This may have been so. But the more natural growth outwards from the "City of David" would rather have been from its northern end into the central wady and up the opposite slopes of the Western Hill. In any case we have no proof nor even probability that the whole of the South-Western Hill was built upon in David's time. The new town, whatever its size may have been, does not seem to have had a wall around it during David's reign. The first record of such a wall is given under Solomon.<sup>2</sup>

But in all this scene nothing is so vivid as the King himself. I have said that it is easy to exaggerate, as some historians

<sup>1</sup> On 1 Kings iii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings iii. 1, etc.

have done, David's own share in the making of Jerusalem. Her full influence and sacredness were a Divine achievement, which required the ages for its consummation. The Prophets and the Deuteronomic legislation were perhaps the greatest factors in her wonderful development; much of her glory, which later Hebrew literature throws back upon David, is only the reflection of their work. Nevertheless it was his choice of her which started everything; which brought history to her walls and planted within them that which made her holy. The Man, whose individual will and policy seem essential to the career of every great city, Jerusalem found in David. He made her the capital of a kingdom; he brought to her the shrine of Israel's God; he gave her a new population: and, if we remember the personal rôle which the sovereigns of antiquity filled in development and regulation of trade, we shall see his hand in the first drawing to her—little as she was fitted by nature for so central a position—of those industrial and commercial influences which in our modern world are so independent of the control of individuals, however powerful. But besides thus standing behind the City and providing the first impetus to her career, the figure of David stands out among the early features of her life more conspicuous than any of them. Of all the actors on that stage, from David himself to Titus, there is none whom we see so clearly upon it, whether under the stress of the great passions or in the details of conduct and conversation. We see him in temptation, in penitence, in grief, or dancing in that oriental ecstasy of worship which had not yet died out of the Hebrew religion; now bent beneath the scandals of his family; now rending his garments at the death of Adonijah; now weeping on the way to the wilderness when he flees from Absalom; or again listening to the arguments of his subjects against himself; or besought by his soldiers to remain within the walls while they go out to war, *that the lamp of*

*Israel be not quenched* ; or tenderly nourished in his feeble old age. The personal drama is never again so vivid in Jerusalem as it is while David is the hero.

#### 5.—JERUSALEM UNDER SOLOMON.

In this respect we find a change when we pass from David to Solomon. Instead of the vivid personal features, the clear figure, of a man, there rises a more majestic apparition indeed ; but, just by the measure of its grandeur, vague and nebulous. *Solomon in all his glory*—we see the glory, but it dazzles our eyes to the character behind. Some of this bright haze is no doubt due to the narrative, parts of which are the work of later writers at a distance from their subject, and parts, where they are contemporary, the work of courtiers to whom the king, the royal figure, is everything—a significant proof of the change that came with Solomon into the atmosphere of Jerusalem. But something may be due to the want in Solomon himself of that keen-cut character and urgent temper, which give such distinctness to the movements of David. From the first Solomon shows no such power of initiative, as for instance his brothers Absalom and even Adonijah did. His succession to the throne is secured for him by others. He has no opportunity of signalizing himself in battle. Nor through the rest of his reign are there any of those personal adventures, which bring David out of the crowd and present his figure throbbing before us. Solomon's appearances are all official—on the judgment seat, on the throne, consecrating the temple. We cannot conceive of him dancing before the Ark, as his father did. Even the wisdom which exalts his personality sublimates it at the same time. Even the one personal temper imputed to him—*now king Solomon loved many strange wives*—may have been only the result of policy and a love of splendour. In short, behind his wealth, his wisdom, his wives and his idols it is difficult to



see the man himself. Yet through that long and prosperous reign there must have been a strong personal force on the throne. Even if we agreed with the critics who assign most of the story to later ages, this would but prove the memory of a high reputation for ruling. The tradition of so wide a kingdom, and such influence abroad : the facts of so great an activity in building, so elaborate an organization of the state, such large enterprises in trade, and, in consequence, such great wealth—these imply that if Solomon was the fortunate heir of his father's conquests, his mind rose to the splendid heritage, and easily, as it would appear, maintained its authority to the end. We read of no intrigues or revolts within the palace ; and the spirit of opposition in Northern Israel was ineffective so long as Solomon lived.

Such was the new lord of Jerusalem : fateful to her in more ways than one. He found her little more than a fortress and he left her a city. For the tent which covered her wandering Ark<sup>1</sup> he built a temple of stone on a site which kept its holiness through his people's history and is still sacred to religion. He devoted to his capital the labours of the whole nation and the wealth of a very distant trade ; embellishing her with buildings which raised her once for all above every other town in Israel, and gave her rank with at least the minor capitals of the world. But, though all this centralization of the national resources worked towards her future fame, and enabled her till this came to endure through the next two centuries of misfortune, it must also be estimated as one of the direct causes of the latter. The discontent and jealousy excited throughout Northern Israel by the drain upon their men and their wealth were among the strongest influences which led to the Disruption of the Kingdom and the deposition of Jerusalem from the rank of capital of all Israel to that of the chief

<sup>1</sup> It had left the city even in David's time.

town in the petty principality of Judah, precariously situated near the frontier of her most jealous neighbours. Nor did even the erection of the Temple ensure the immediate religious fame of the city. For more than two centuries the Temple did not become the national shrine; about 750 the pilgrims from Northern Israel still passed it by for Beersheba.<sup>1</sup> Yet the Temple, not only because it was more imposing than any other in the land, but because it possessed the ancient shrine of all Israel and a purer form of worship than elsewhere prevailed, could wait for the future. Solomon was thus the pioneer of the Prophets and of the Deuteronomic legislation in the creation of the unique sacredness of Sion.

We may now trace the exact directions along which the centralizing policy of Solomon bore in upon Jerusalem, and what necessary exceptions there were to it.

1. In the first place there was the division of the kingdom into twelve provinces, each of which furnished the king's court, and perhaps the wider circle of his workmen, with food for one month a year. The list of the provinces may have been drawn up late in the king's reign, and is therefore out of place where it stands in the history,<sup>2</sup> but it is more convenient to take it now. The fragmentary state of the text forbids dogmatic inferences from it, as to the size of the various provinces and whether the impost was arranged to lie more heavily on those with a non-Israelite population (as some assert). But one feature is striking. It has been pointed out that neither Jerusalem, Bethlehem nor Hebron is included; as if Solomon relieved from the duty the seats of his own family. In any case

<sup>1</sup> Amos viii. 14.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings iv. 7 ff. There is no reason to doubt the reliableness of the list. The late date in the king's reign assigned to it is inferred, not so much from the mention of two of the king's sons-in-law among the officers, as from the fact that the court could hardly have reached the size implied till after he had reigned some years.

those national contributions poured into Jerusalem, not for the nourishment of the court only, but directly or indirectly for the enrichment of the whole population. Their reception and consumption must have increased the number and business of the latter. Many provincials must for the first time have formed the habit of visiting the capital, and this would probably lead to the permanent settlement of a number of them within and about its walls.

2. Another influence of the same kind was the employment for thirteen years at least <sup>1</sup> of a number of Phœnician workmen,<sup>2</sup> and of a mass of Israelites, stated at 80,000 <sup>3</sup> (with 3,300 overseers), who quarried stones in the mountains of Judah, and helped the Phœnicians in their building. That Solomon drew his levies of labour only from his non-Israelite subjects <sup>4</sup> is a statement which does not agree either with the data in Chronicles v., or with the intimation that Jeroboam was *over the levy of the house of Joseph*,<sup>5</sup> and must therefore be the insertion of a later hand.<sup>6</sup> It is probable that some of these labourers were added to the permanent population of Jerusalem. But in any case their sight of her, their sense of her new importance, must have been carried by them through the land, and have made Jerusalem far better known. The cedars cut in Lebanon and conveyed through the Phœnician ports, the mines in Lebanon,<sup>7</sup> and the metal castings in the Jordan Valley—all for a city which a few years before was a mere

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings vii. 1. If the building of the Temple, which is stated to have taken seven years (vi. 1, 38) was not contemporaneous with the thirteen years of the building of the palace, then the operations took twenty years in all (ix. 10). But this is doubtful.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings v. 18. <sup>3</sup> Id. v. 15 f.

<sup>4</sup> ix. 22. <sup>5</sup> xi. 28. <sup>6</sup> Cf. too the words "unto this day" in ix. 21.

<sup>7</sup> In the LXX. version, chapter ii. 46c we read: *καὶ Σαλαμων, ἤρξατο ἀνόςγειν τὰ θνναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου*; this is explained by Winckler (*A. T. Untersuchungen*, p. 175) as referring to mines in Lebanon, where ancient workings have been found Cf. Benzinger on 1 Kings ix. 19. Cf. Jeremiah xv. 12.

Jebusite enclave—must of themselves have heightened her reputation, and brought an influx of trade to her gates.

3. On the frontiers of his territory Solomon fortified certain cities: Hazor, Megiddo, Gezer, Beth-Horon the nether, Baalath, and Tamar in the wilderness.<sup>1</sup> With the exception of Baalath the sites of all these are known, and one of them, Gezer, has (as we have seen) been laid bare by excavation in a more thorough fashion than the ruins of any other town in Palestine. Mr. Macalister is "strongly inclined to seek in the square towers inserted at irregular intervals along the [outer] wall for the tangible traces" of Solomon's re-fortification of Gezer after the probable breaching of the wall by the king of Egypt.<sup>2</sup> Hazor, probably the present el-Khurebe above the Lake of Huleh, commanded the main entrance into Palestine from the North; Megiddo, the passage from Esdraelon to Sharon; Beth-Horon, the most open ascent from Sharon, Jafa, and the group of towns about the latter to Jerusalem; Gezer (as in the time of the Maccabean kingdom), the approach up the Vale of Ajalon from the coast, and a road which probably entered the hills by the town of Ajalon, and thence travelled by the present Kuriet el-Eynab<sup>3</sup> to Jerusalem more directly than the Beth-Horon road. Baalath-jay either on this last road nearer to Jerusalem than Gezer, or on a more southerly approach to the capital. Tamar in the wilderness is the Roman Thamara,<sup>4</sup> on the road up the Negeb to Hebron from the Gulf of 'Akaba. If we may draw a deduction from the absence from the list of towns in Moab, Gilead and Bashan, Solomon appears to have had nothing to fear upon those frontiers of his kingdom, and in fact Hazor and Tamar confronted the only two foreign peoples from whom he is reported to have had

<sup>1</sup> ix. 15b, 17, 18.

<sup>2</sup> *P. E. F. Quart. Statement*, January 1905, pp. 30 f.

<sup>3</sup> I partly followed this natural and ancient track last April.

<sup>4</sup> Probably the present El-Kurnub.

trouble—the Arameans and the Edomites; while the absence of Jericho and Ephraimite cities prove how quietly he held Northern Israel. Megiddo and Gezer controlled the main trade route between Damascus and Egypt; but besides protecting the international traffic, and thus enabling Solomon to fulfil his engagements with other potentates,<sup>1</sup> these two fortresses may have been further intended as a signal to the Phoenicians of the power of Israel.

Each of these cities, then, on the borders of the proper territory of Israel, covered an important trade route; and three of them, Beth-Horon, Gezer and Baalath, protected the more immediate approaches to the capital. Tamar was in hardly less close connexion with Jerusalem, as one feels to-day at the occasional sight of a caravan from Sinai or the Gulf of 'Akaba at the Hebron gate of the city. Imagine these secure roads drawing in on Jerusalem! We can believe that with the completion of the fortresses upon them, a new sense of being at the centre of things, and an assurance of security, inspired her inhabitants, and contributed to her increase.

4. Besides these six fortified towns Solomon had a number of *store cities, and cities for his chariots, and cities for his horsemen.*<sup>2</sup> These were the necessary exceptions to his centralizing policy. That he did not assemble his cavalry or chariots at the capital was due to the character of its surroundings, destitute of rich pasture, and too steep and broken for wheels. In contrast with the more open Samaria and Esdraelon, we seldom read of the use of chariots about Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup> Solomon kept his where they

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the Tell el-Amarna letters, in which a king of Mesopotamia complains to the King of Egypt of the lawlessness from which his caravans had suffered in Palestine, then Egyptian territory.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings ix. 19.

<sup>3</sup> There are two instances: in the one case the chariot carried a dead,

could manœuvre. His horses, no doubt, appeared at the city. Solomon was the first to introduce these into Israel, importing them, not from Egypt as the Hebrew text declares, but from the northern Muṣri and Kuë in Cilicia, as the more correct Greek version enables us to discover.<sup>1</sup> They would replace at his court the mules on which royal personages had hitherto ridden.

From the foregoing, then, we may infer a very considerable increase of the population of Jerusalem under Solomon, not only during the thirteen or twenty years in which his buildings were in progress, but permanently. The sites on which the new inhabitants settled can only have been the South-Western Hill and the central wady. The extent of the enlarged city we shall consider when we treat of the wall which he built.

#### 6.—SOLOMON'S BUILDINGS IN JERUSALEM.

Besides a few general notices, scattered through the history of his reign, of the buildings erected by Solomon, there is a detailed account in chapters v.-vii. of his preparations for, and his erection of, the Temple, the royal house and adjacent structures. Unfortunately this description has suffered much from the dilapidation of the text, the consequent attempts at repair, and not a few insertions from the point of view of a later age, to which the Temple was of more importance than it was in Solomon's time. The details would require a separate article. In what remains of this one there can only be indicated the relative positions of the principal royal and sacred buildings, and the direction and extent of Solomon's fortifications.

in the other, a dying, man (2 Kings ix. 28; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24). See *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, p. 380, and, further, Appendix V.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings x. 28, where we should read: *the export of horses for Solomon was out of Muṣri and Kuë; the dealers of the king bought them out of Kuë for a price.*

At first Solomon inhabited the City of David. This is clear from the statement that he brought there the daughter of Pharaoh until he should have finished his new buildings.<sup>1</sup> It was most natural that he should raise these in proximity to the old citadel, that is, on the East Hill. Now at this time there appears to have been open ground to the north of the City of David. Here, it is generally agreed, lay the threshing-floor of 'Araunah, which David bought, and on which he had erected an altar. Here also in the time of the Maccabees we find the Sacred Temple, and there can be no doubt that Solomon's had occupied the same elevated position: the Mount Sion of several Old Testament writers, the Mount Moriah of the Chronicler<sup>2</sup>: within, that is, the present Haram area. This is universally accepted. At present we cannot enter the debate as to what exact portion of the area was occupied by Solomon's Temple. It is enough to point out that the Temple formed part of a complex of buildings within one great court, that it was the highest of these, and that the others lay below it to the south, and so between it and the City of David. Immediately next it was the king's own house with that of the daughter of Pharaoh. According to Ezekiel<sup>3</sup> there was but a wall between the Temple and the Palace, which, however, lay lower than the Temple.<sup>4</sup> And this being so, the other buildings, the Throne Hall, the Pillared Hall, and the House of the Forest of Lebanon, must have lain on the other side of the Palace from the Temple. This, too, is the order in which they are described in the narrative of Solomon's buildings. In any case it is clear that the

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings iii. 1; ix. 15.

<sup>2</sup> EXPOSITOR for January 1905.

<sup>3</sup> xlili. 8.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xi. 19: *They brought down the king from the house of the LORD . . . unto the king's house*; Jerem. xxvi. 10: *The princes of Judah came up from the king's house to the house of the LORD*; xxxvi. 11 f.: *When Micaiah had heard out of the book the words of the LORD (in the upper court at the entry of the new gate to the house of the LORD) he went down into the king's house.*

Palace lay above the City of David, for it is stated that Pharaoh's daughter came *up* out of the City of David into the house which Solomon built for her.<sup>1</sup>

The data just given along, with the rock-levels of the site which the whole complex covered, prove that the separate buildings rose above each other on a series of terraces. They must have presented to the eyes of the people, still mainly in the agricultural stage of their development as a nation, a very imposing spectacle.

Solomon's fortifications of Jerusalem are attested in the three general statements already referred to.

iii. 31. Here we are told that Solomon *brought Pharaoh's daughter into the city of David, until he had finished building his house, and the house of Jahweh and the wall of Jerusalem round about.* This is given by the LXX. at ii. 35c<sup>2</sup> as *until he had finished the house of Jahweh at first and the wall of Jerusalem round about*; and at iv. 31 as: *the house of Jahweh and his own house and the wall of Jerusalem.*

ix. 15b gives a fuller but mutilated form of the same statement<sup>3</sup>: [until that he had finished] *building the house of Jahweh and his own house and the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem.* For which the LXX. gives at x. 23: *the house of Jahweh, and the house of the king, and the wall of Jerusalem, and the citadel.*<sup>4</sup> To this the Hebrew of ix. 24 adds that Solomon built the Millo when he brought his wife to the new house: LXX. ch. ii. 35 f. (Swete).

xi. 27 states that Solomon *built the Millo, he closed the breach of the city of David his father*: exactly translated by the LXX., which at xii. 24 adds the information that it

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings ix. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Swete's edition.

<sup>3</sup> Mutilated for the word *building*, in Hebrew *to build*, has nothing before it to put it in the infinitive. The word translated *reason* in the English version of the preceding clause should be *story* or *account*.

<sup>4</sup> Τὴν ἄκραν; and adds τοῦ περιφράξαι τὸν φραγμὸν τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ, (cf. Hebrew text of xi. 27) καὶ τὴν Ἀσσούρ καὶ τὴν Μαδιδν,





was Jeroboam who (under Solomon) *enclosed the city of David*.

This repeated statement, thus variously placed by the hands of different editors, is doubtless taken from an ancient source, probably the official annals of Solomon's reign; there is no reason to question its authenticity.<sup>1</sup> According to it, Solomon further strengthened the Millo which his father had repaired. We see now that the Millo cannot have been between the city of David and the new royal buildings to the north. It must have stood at one or other end of the line separating these, either over Kidron or over the central wady. Further, Solomon *closed the breach of the city of David*, which we are unable to define unless as a gap left by David in the fortifications of his citadel. And lastly he *built the wall of Jerusalem round about*. It is most natural to suppose that this enclosed part at least of the increase of the city, which (as we have seen) must have spread over the Western Hill. Josephus<sup>2</sup> identifies with the wall erected by Solomon the so-called First Wall, which ran eastward along the northern edge of the South-Western Hill to the western cloister of the Temple; and this identification has been largely accepted by modern authorities. Further, Dr. Bliss<sup>3</sup> suggests that the south-west angle of Solomon's fortifications may have been "Maudslay's Scarp."<sup>4</sup> Dr. Bliss uncovered a scarp running north-east from this across the brow of the South-Western Hill towards a rectangular line of wall upon the slope of that hill above the central wady; and he infers a continuation of this line to

<sup>1</sup> Sir Charles Wilson (Smith's *Dict. of the Bible*, 2nd ed. 1598a), following Josephus (viii. *Antt.* ii. 1, vi. 1) takes 1 Kings iii. 1 and ix. 15 as referring to two different buildings of the wall of Jerusalem by Solomon, before and after he built the Temple. But the statement is evidently the same in all its repetitions.

<sup>2</sup> v. *B.J.* iv. 2. Josephus calls it the wall erected by David and Solomon.

<sup>3</sup> *Excavations at Jerusalem*, 1894-97.

<sup>4</sup> Near Bishop Gobat's School.

the present south wall of the city at Burj-al-Kebrit, and so across the central wady to the Eastern Hill. This would mean that Solomon's Jerusalem, so far as fortified by him, covered at least the northern part of the South-Western Hill: by no means an improbable conception, and one which, if we think it inadequate for the increase of the population under Solomon, leaves room for suburbs outside the wall. But we must keep in mind that all this is only hypothetical, and that no ancient walls or other remains have been discovered in Jerusalem which can with certainty be identified as Solomon's.

In such uncertainty we must leave the subject. This only appears to be sure, that Solomon's Jerusalem covered some part of the South-Western Hill, an opinion accepted even by the majority of those experts who place the city of David on the Eastern. Professor Robertson Smith's statement that there is no evidence for the extension of Jerusalem to the Western Hill before the days of the Maccabees, is limited to documentary evidence, and is fully answered by the argument presented above, that the increase of the population under Solomon was considerable, and could only be provided for on the Western Hill.

In our study of the city under Hezekiah we shall see that it was impossible for that king to have held the Pool of Siloam unless the whole of the South-Western Hill was then within the walls. If, therefore, as Mr. Bliss suggests, the line of wall across the brow of the South-Western Hill was Solomon's, the other line which he has traced round the south of that Hill would represent a wall added between Solomon and Hezekiah, probably in consequence of a further increase of the city under Uzziah.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

## HARNACK AND LOISY ON THE ESSENCE OF CHRISTIANITY.

SELDOM can two books on such a small scale as *Das Wesen des Christentums* and *L'Évangile et l'Église* have produced such a sensation as the works of Harnack and Loisy published under these titles. Many things contributed to the sensation. Both the authors are men in the foremost rank of ability and learning. Both raise questions which go to the very heart of Christianity, and indeed of the spiritual life of the world. Both write, for the occasion at least, with singular vivacity. Both have raised a storm of protestation in their own churches, and have been answered, not by those to whom they spoke, but by official or self-constituted guardians of Christianity who evidently fear that between the learned disputants very little gospel is likely to be left. It gave an unexpected piquancy to Loisy's book that in answering Harnack he took up an attitude in some respects the very opposite of that which we should have looked for in a Roman Catholic scholar. He did not assail Harnack for being too critical, but for not being critical enough. He himself claims to be free where Harnack is bound. He is at liberty to be historical where Harnack is dogmatic. It is true, the authorities of his church have not supported his claim: but in his second little book, *Autour d'un petit livre*, he has asserted this liberty even in relation to them with refreshing frankness. Into the personalities of the situation, however, it is needless to enter; the real interest is that of the great question at issue—How are we to conceive and define the Christian religion?

The answers given by Harnack and Loisy to this question are conditioned in part by the intention of the writers. Each of them has in contemplation a particular audience.

Harnack delivered his sixteen lectures to students of all faculties in the University of Berlin, and he evidently conceives his hearers as standing aloof from traditional Christianity. They do not believe in miracles; the modern philosophy they have assimilated does not cohere with the traditional doctrines of the church; from all the institutions in which Christianity is embodied, they are more or less alienated. They do not (probably) go much to church, a sacrament is something for which their intellectual world has no place, the idea of a clergy is one for which they have a kind of moral loathing. Harnack's intention, with this audience before him, is to commend Christianity; it is to evangelize. It is to commend Christianity itself, as opposed to everything with which it has come to be identified in the course of its long and chequered history. There is such a thing as Christianity itself, in contrast to the marvels which have embellished it, the dogmas in which it has been intellectually construed, the organizations and institutions in which it has been legally embodied; and it is the very thing itself which Harnack in the true spirit of an evangelist wishes to exhibit anew to the mind and conscience of his hearers. It is this which gives his book its charm, and compels our sympathy even where we dissent from particular propositions of the author. It is not the religion of the gospel, Loisy says, it is Harnack's own religion. If this is a defect, it is also a merit. In its way, Harnack's book is the Christian confession of a strong man, and the Christian religion as he has experienced and understands it comes home with power to the reader.

But what is the Christian religion—what is Christianity itself—as Harnack preaches and expounds it? In his own words, it is Jesus Christ and His gospel. The question, What is Christianity? is a historical question, and it must receive a historical answer. For this answer Harnack goes back into history, yet not precisely to a moment in history.

It is not enough to present the figure of Jesus and the main features of His glad tidings; we should not really know Him if we did not know the impression He made on those who associated with Him. The way in which a great and effective personality tells upon others is one of the main ways in which it reveals what it is. While including in his conception of Christianity this reference to the effect produced by Jesus on those who knew Him, Harnack does not exaggerate the importance of the first forms in which Christianity was established among men. "The gospel," he says, "did not enter the world as a statutory religion, and therefore no form in which it has received intellectual or social definition, not even the first, can claim to be the classical and abiding phenomenon of it." But in spite of this limitation, in which he approaches very near to Loisy, Harnack does assign a decisive and final importance to something in the past. Jesus and His message, the life which He lived and the glad tidings which He preached, including the impression this made on others and the testimony they were consequently able to bear to Him: this is the essence of Christianity. This it is which never changes, because it is really independent of time and circumstances, and appeals to that which is timeless in man; this it is which is the criterion of all that claims to be Christian, a criterion the possession of which delivers us from all intellectual or moral bondage to what men have pronounced or practised as Christian; this it is which is the absolute in Christianity, a truly supernatural power which has been manifested in history, but by which we are lifted unequivocally, above historical chance and natural necessity alike, into an eternal life in God.

When Harnack proceeds to unfold the gospel as Jesus preached it he seems unable to reduce it to any precise definition. He states it in three alternative forms. It is

the glad tidings of the kingdom of God and its coming ; of God the Father and the infinite worth of the soul ; of the better righteousness and the commandment of love. Of these three it may be said that the first is that which is most obviously determined by historical antecedents and circumstances, and which is therefore in all probability the one least useful to an evangelist addressing men whose historical situation is quite different from that of Jesus' auditors ; and it is perhaps for this reason as well as others that the kingdom of God and its coming take really a very subordinate place in Harnack's representation of the gospel. The third, again, is apt to leave the impression that the gospel has to do with morality, not religion—in other words, that it is a law, not a gospel ; and with all his moral ardour, it is only by a kind of afterthought, in which he shows how the better righteousness and the law of love are dependent for their realization on humility, that is, on openness to the love of God, that Harnack can satisfy himself that his third description of the gospel is entitled to stand side by side with the other two. But between the first and the third the main emphasis all through his book falls on the second. God and the soul, the soul and its God—God as the Father, and the soul in its infinite value to Him and to itself ; these two, in their relations to one another, are the sum and substance of what we owe to Jesus and His gospel. Whoever holds these truths and lives in them holds the whole of Christianity. This is the eternal in it which never changes ; this is the criterion, the standard of reference, by which we must judge everything, and in the possession of which we may freely condemn much, which asserts a claim to be Christian. We are liberated at once by this conception from all that is dogmatic in the legal sense, and from all that is institutional, in Christianity. Canon, creed, church, clergy, Christology, we can lighten the ship by throwing them all overboard,

and put the gospel on a surer basis than before. We make it easier to become Christian, in the sense of removing many difficulties from the path—intellectual difficulties, that is, which bring the mind to a standstill, or provoke it to revolt; but not easier in reality, for nothing makes a greater demand on all that is within us than really to commit ourselves to the Living God, whose holiness and love are real to us through Christ, and to live as those who are infinitely dear to Him.

Loisy's intention is quite different from Harnack's, and gives a different moral quality to his book. He is not speaking as an evangelist, and commending Christianity as he understands it to a somewhat unsympathetic audience: he is speaking as a person who is identified with a great historical embodiment of Christianity, and who is interested to show that the fortunes of Jesus Christ and His gospel, as Harnack puts it, have been and are bound up with the fortune of what he calls the Church. He does not censure Harnack for being too historical in his apprehension of Christianity, but for not being historical enough. In the full sense of the term Christianity is a historical religion, and he is at pains to bring out the full sense. There is no absolute in history, nothing timeless. There is no moment which has the value of eternity; at every moment the historical reality is relative, and it is in process. You cannot find the timeless moment or the eternal worth even by going back to Jesus. Jesus lived in history, and was as truly of His time as we are of ours. Thus, to take one example, there is no absoluteness in *His* conceptions of the Kingdom of God, which would make them a law to us; and in short it is not by going back at all that we find the essence of Christianity. To go back is not to find the eternal in the historical; it is merely to petrify the past, and to deceive ourselves with words. When we say that Christianity is a historical religion—which is true—what

we ought to mean is that Christianity is the whole historical movement initiated by Jesus. There is such a movement, and everything in it is so far legitimated by being there. In order to subsist in the world at all Christianity had to become all that we see it to be. It had to develop dogmas, rites, institutions, devotions, disciplines; if it had not done so, it would have ceased to exist. Not the Church but *Christianity* would have ceased to exist. When it entered into the great world, the great world entered into it: why not? When people became Christians they brought their minds into Christianity, their habits of thought, to some extent their former modes of worship: and again Loisy would ask, Why not? The point to remember is that there is no *finality* here; it is a *process* which is going on before our eyes, and it is not to be judged as a *final result*; its legitimacy merely turns on the question whether the process is one in which the element of Christian tradition keeps a determining place, so that through the process men are really kept in communication with Christ. It is the generative action of His Spirit—though we cannot think of the Spirit as personal—and not the formal verification of His words or even His thoughts in the Christian community, which entitles it to bear His name.

It is not our business to discuss the reception which these ideas have found from the co-religionists of their author. We can easily understand that Roman Catholic authorities have been astonished by them. M. Loisy's defence of the Church has been only too thorough. He has proved too much, and he has done it at a tremendous cost. Christianity is the movement initiated in history by Jesus, and everything which has a place in this movement is *ipso facto* legitimate. The most extravagant "devotions," the most imbecile superstitions, the most incomprehensible dogmas, the most tyrannical disciplines, are all covered by this shield. They are all part of the movement initiated by Jesus; the gospel



has lived in that movement, and could not have lived in independence of it; and its sanction extends to all that the movement has carried with it. So far no Roman Catholic could have any quarrel with M. Loisy. But the seriousness of the situation appears when we ask what kind of legitimation the Church, with its rites, dogmas and discipline, obtains in this way? It is a purely historical legitimation. It has a right to be, because it is there; but it is there only because it is in motion, only because it is passing away. There is no such thing in it as an immutable dogma, or a constitution or a ritual which has divine right, and therefore can never be changed. Christology, the doctrine of grace, the doctrine of the Church and the Sacraments, all alike come under this law. They have a historical legitimacy, but it is only historical; their right to be can be frankly acknowledged because it is only a relative right, and implies the obligation sooner or later to cease to be. If their right were regarded as absolute or divine, it would not mean that Christianity had been apprehended as an eternal truth; it would mean that so far as history is concerned Christianity was dead.

In pointing out the bearings of this proposition, Loisy is probably concerned with his ecclesiastical superiors as much as with Harnack. It is his case against Harnack, but it is still more his case against them. Up till the present time, he says, Catholic theologians have been mainly preoccupied with the absolute character which dogma derives from its source, divine revelation; while critics have hardly seen anything but its relative character, as manifested in history. "What sound theology is bound to aim at is the solution of the antinomy presented by the absolute authority claimed by faith for dogma, and the variability and relativity which the critic cannot but remark in the history of dogmas and in the dogmatic formulae." The solution of the antinomy, he is not afraid

to hint, will lead to a lessening of the pressure of ecclesiastical authority in the Catholic Church. It might have been thought that the dogma of papal infallibility left no room for such mental discomfort as M. Loisy evidently feels, and that a Catholic, as Newman says at the end of the *Apologia*, can have no history of his religious opinions to narrate; but that is not Loisy's view. "The definitions of the Vatican," he says, "have disengaged themselves somehow from the reality"—which is a diplomatic way, presumably, of saying that they mark the stage reached in the development of Catholic Christianity, register the ecclesiastical *status quo*; "but if the centralizing movement which has led to this point seems to have reached its goal, theological reflection has not yet said its last word on the subject. With regard to the true nature and object of ecclesiastical authority, we may believe that the future will make observations which cannot fail to react on the mode and conditions of its exercise."

However this may be, the point of living interest in Loisy's conception is that which is suggested by the words quoted above—"the absolute character which dogma derives from its source, divine revelation." One's first impression is that in the name of history Loisy refuses to think about the absolute at all. To put it paradoxically, the only absolute he acknowledges is the absolute relativity of everything which has taken or can take a real place in history. Absolute and historical form a contradiction in terms. When Harnack speaks of the essence of Christianity as something independent of time and environment, or uses phrases like absolute religion, absolute Christianity, Loisy puts them ironically aside as describing entities that are not very likely to be found in history. Yet the absolute relativity of everything in history seems to leave us without any criterion whatever, either of Christianity or of truth; everything both is and is not, and whatever we can build

on this basis it is not religion. Religion is a form of the absolute consciousness, and perhaps the most remarkable passage in M. Loisy's work is one in which, after insisting on the historical relativity of *everything* Christian, he is driven to find the basis of Christianity, the revelation on which it rests, and its one absolute dogma, outside of history altogether. The passage in question is found on p. 267 f., in which M. Loisy is speaking of the worship of the Catholic Church: "Neither the worship of the Christ nor the worship of the saints could belong to the gospel of Jesus, nor do they belong to it; they arose spontaneously and grew up one after the other, then both together, in Christianity as it took shape or had already taken shape. Nevertheless the worship of Jesus and that of the saints proceed alike from what we might call in strict truth the primitive revelation, that which has never been articulated (*spécifiée*) in formal teaching, and which man bears written in indistinct characters at the bottom of his religious consciousness. The article which constitutes by itself this undefined (*inexpliquée*) revelation, and which Jesus manifested in His person and His life as much as in His teaching, but which he was the first to manifest in a clear and intelligible way, because he bore it realized in Himself, is that God reveals Himself to man in man, and that humanity enters into a divine fellowship with God. . . ." "The eternal principle that the divine shines through the human as its medium received then a new application, precise and fruitful; this application was the Christian religion and the cultus of Jesus, and it could not be anything else."

It is difficult to believe that the writer is here conscious of the full bearing of his words. He speaks from one philosophical standpoint when he criticizes Harnack; he shifts to another, which is diametrically opposed to it, when he becomes conscious of the criticism with which Harnack might retort upon him. Christianity is historical,

nothing but historical, and therefore to seek absolute religion at any given point in its history is vain—this is his attitude as against Harnack; Christianity rests upon an eternal principle—a principle, as he puts it, which man had always believed, though he had only vaguely understood it—a principle entering into the very constitution of his nature and making him what he is—the familiar Hegelian principle that God is the truth of man and that man is the reality of God—this is his attitude when amid the ceaseless flux of the historical, where everything is at the same time legitimate and illegitimate, he is compelled to find a rule for judging and a standard of appreciation. But can it be said that it is a Christian rule or standard? Does it do justice to Christianity as a historical phenomenon? Does it do justice to the relation which Christ assumed both to God and to man if we express His significance thus: “He was the first to manifest in a clear and intelligible way the eternal principle in virtue of which man is what he is”? One may doubt it, and in any case it is not easy to see how the criterion of Christianity as a historical religion is to be found outside of both Christianity and history. Of course it must be admitted that Christianity is essentially related to the constitution of human nature; if it were not so, it would be unintelligible and useless to men. We are created in order to be Christian: it is as true that we are made for Christ as that Christ is given to us. But it is not in the primitive revelation implicit in our nature that we can read the essential truth of the gospel; it is not in ourselves that we find the criterion and measure of Christianity; and if there are philosophical difficulties in Harnack’s way when he tries to fix a moment in history which has a unique eternal worth, they are not transcended by Loisy when in dealing with an essentially historical question he takes flight from history to metaphysics. It hardly repays the reader to follow him here. Most people

will think that Harnack has a good case when he argues that the essential elements in the gospel are "timeless"; that though the gospel in the Evangelists is bound up with a conception of nature and history which we have outlived, it is not inseparably bound up with it, and that man, to whom the gospel is addressed, in spite of all advances in science and civilization, remains in his inner nature and in his fundamental relations to the external world for ever the same. Instead, however, of pursuing these abstract considerations it will enable us better to appreciate the way in which Harnack and Loisy respectively conceive the essence of Christianity if we compare their discussions of characteristic Christian ideas. Of these, two may be taken as typical—the Kingdom of God and the Son of God.

With regard to the Kingdom, Harnack's view can be given in a sentence. He finds in the gospels, which here represent truly the teaching of Jesus, expressions of the most various kinds. They range from the prophetic announcement of the judgment day, and of the future visible coming of the divine sovereignty, all painted in the colours of Old Testament prophecy, to the thought of an inward coming of the Kingdom which is already beginning, and which takes its start with the message of Jesus. Harnack admits that between these two poles—the day of judgment and the inward coming—there is a vast interval, and that it is very difficult for us to combine them as they were combined in the life of Jesus. But he does not feel at liberty, for that reason, to sacrifice either the one side or the other, or to say that Jesus could not have combined them in His life at all. In particular, he does not feel at liberty to sacrifice what for brevity's sake may be called the spiritual to the eschatological view. On the ground of passages like *Matthew xii. 28*, *Luke xvii. 21*, *Matthew xi. 2ff.*, *Luke xix. 10*, not to mention the parables, he holds firmly to the idea that the Kingdom of God was in some sense and to some intent

present. He is conscious of the risk we run in depreciating the spectacular and dramatic presentation of the Kingdom and its coming—the risk of losing the native pith and colour of religion, and of putting in the place of the vivid message of Jesus a washed out moral programme; but he is prepared to take the risk. The original element in the teaching of Jesus, he argues, and not the inherited one, is that in which its characteristic power and value lie; and the original element is the spiritual, not the eschatological. When it comes to the point, the eschatological element is simply dropped. “The Kingdom of God is God’s sovereignty, certainly, but it is the sovereignty of the Holy God in individual hearts, it is God Himself with His power. All that is dramatic in the external sense, the sense of universal history, has here disappeared, and the whole external hope of the future has sunk beneath the horizon with it. Take whatever parable you please, the sower, the priceless pearl, the treasure in the field—the word of God, God Himself, is the Kingdom; and it is not angels and devils, it is not thrones and principalities, with which we have to do, but God and the soul, the soul and its God.”

It can hardly be denied that there is a considerable degree of arbitrariness in this summary rejection of what the New Testament from beginning to end calls “hope,” and all the more that if there was one thing which more than another was characteristic of primitive Christianity it was precisely this hope. Harnack regards this as a kind of relapse from the standpoint of Jesus, yet the relapse was formal rather than real. The *kingdom* was spoken of by the Apostles as something merely future; the real blessings of the gospel in the present, which Jesus had included under the heading of the Kingdom, were not lost, but had other designations. On this whole subject Loisy seems at first to stand at the opposite pole from Harnack. He agrees with him only formally in saying that the gospel message is that of

the Kingdom of God and its coming ; as soon as the contents of the message have to be defined he parts from him completely. He holds with that recent school of New Testament scholarship which lays the whole stress in the gospels on the eschatological representation of the Kingdom. He rejects unceremoniously the idea that not what Jesus inherited is of value in Christianity, but only what is His own ; nothing was more truly His own, nothing had greater value to Him, than what He had inherited—the ancient revelation and the hopes it had inspired. He gets rid of the texts on which Harnack bases his spiritual conception of Christianity by methods which some will describe as exegetical and critical, others as the unscrupulous use of the rack and the knife. Perhaps it is enough to say that they are quite unconvincing. But what remains for him as the essential thing in the conception of the kingdom is precisely that which Harnack drops out of it, viz. the *Zukunftshoffnung*, the absolute hope. There is not, and never has been, nor can be in the world, such a thing as Christianity without an absolute hope. But historically this absolute hope has always been determined by circumstances, and the precise contents of it at any particular time or in any particular mind can never be made obligatory for all time or for all minds. Even the form which it had in the mind of Jesus was historically determined, and has no more authority for us than any other form which it has ever assumed. M. Loisy is perfectly frank about this. "When Jesus said with solemnity : 'I tell you of a truth that among those who are here there are some who shall not taste death till they see the Son of man coming in His Kingdom,' He uttered a dogmatic proposition much less absolute at bottom than in appearance ; He demanded faith in the nearness of the kingdom ; but the idea of the Kingdom and that of its proximity were two very simple symbols of things extremely complex, and even those who first

believed in this promise found it necessary to cling to the spirit rather than to the letter of it, if they were always to prove it true." M. Loisy scoffs somewhere at those who teach that we are saved by faith, independently of our beliefs; but in this passage he seems to come very close to this dubious position. It is the same elsewhere when he writes: "Jesus and the Church have their eyes raised in the same direction, towards the same symbol of hope; and the Church observes, with regard to the heavenly Kingdom, the same attitude as Jesus." To look in the same direction, though you see quite different things, does not seem a very important agreement; and in spite of the tenacity with which he vindicates for Jesus a purely eschatological conception of the Kingdom, and insists on the necessity of the Christian maintaining Jesus' attitude, it is clear that for himself eschatology is as unimportant—so far as its contents are concerned—as it is for Harnack. Its object is God and the providential destiny of the world. No doubt Harnack also believes in God and in a providential destiny of the world, though he would probably be slow to assert that this faith or hope yielded to him what early Christians found in the vivid eschatology of the gospels. But Loisy does more than attenuate the hope of the gospels to an attitude; there is a striking passage in which, speaking of that hope in connexion with 'Jesus Himself, he describes it in terms which seem to convey precisely Harnack's opinion. "The dream of Jesus," he says, "was His project itself, the realization of perfect blessedness in perfect righteousness, of immortality in holiness. And this realization was already wrought in Him by union to God, by trust in the heavenly Father, by the inward certainty of the eternal future guaranteed to humanity in His person and by Himself." What is this but Harnack's formula, God and the soul, the soul and its God—a relation of God and the soul realized here through the mediation of Jesus, and including everything in itself?



To pass to our second illustration. The Son of God is regarded, both by Harnack and Loisy, as standing in some relation to the kingdom of God, and they differ formally in defining the title just as they differ in defining the kingdom. According to Harnack, who rests His case on the well-known passage in Matthew xi. 27, in which the Son and the Father are spoken of absolutely, as having relations to each other which belong to them alone, the knowledge of God is the sphere of the Divine sonship. "Rightly understood, the knowledge of God is the whole content of the name Son." To say that Jesus is the Son is to say that He knows the Father; it means that, and it means no more. It is on the basis of this filial consciousness, which is the ultimate and immutable thing in Christianity, that the Messianic consciousness somehow or other arose—a consciousness naturally less intelligible to the non-Jewish world, and consequently destined to no permanent place there. To all this Loisy seems at first to be diametrically opposed. "The distinction that has been drawn between the filial consciousness and the Messianic consciousness is absolutely gratuitous. Primitive tradition never suspected it; and modern criticism, had there been no theological interest at stake, would perhaps not have suspected it either. The filial sentiment which inspires the inner life of Jesus is one thing, the reflective consciousness of His rôle in providence is another. It is not the filial sentiment referred to which makes Jesus Son of God in a sense belonging to Him alone. All men who say to God, Our Father, are sons of God on the same terms; and Jesus would only be one of them if there were nothing in question but knowledge of the divine goodness and trust in it. The critic may conjecture that the filial sentiment preceded and prepared for the Messianic consciousness, the soul of Jesus being raised by prayer, confidence and love to the highest degree of union with God, so that the idea of the Messianic vocation crowned,

so to speak, naturally this inward experience ; but so far as the title Son of God belongs exclusively to the Saviour, it is equivalent to that of Messiah ; it rests on His character as Messiah ; it belongs to Jesus, not in virtue of His inward sentiments and religious experiences, but in virtue of His providential function, and as the unique agent of the Kingdom of heaven." In spite of its clearness and emphasis, this is surely very open to criticism. For one thing, it is pervaded by a thoroughly false contrast. It is inconceivable that the filial sentiment which inspired the inner life of Jesus, and the reflective consciousness of His rôle in providence, should simply stand side by side. In some sense they must coalesce ; it must be because Jesus is what He is, in His inner relation to God, that He is called to discharge His particular rôle in providence. For another, it is not true to say that Jesus would only be one man among others if there were nothing in question but knowledge of the Divine goodness and trust in it. To maintain this position Loisy has to strike out of the gospel the passage in Matthew xi. 27 in which Jesus asserts precisely the contrary. For this act of violence there is no justification whatever. The attraction it has for Loisy is that it gives even to Jesus' consciousness of Himself as Son of God, in the unique sense which makes Him the object of Christian faith, a form—the Messianic form—which is unmistakably relative to a given historical situation ; a form therefore which it is obligatory on the Church, and accordingly legitimate for the Church, to recast as circumstances require. Even the Christology of Jesus has for M. Loisy no finality. You cannot go back to A.D. 29 or 30, and lift Christianity just as it was, and carry it across the centuries unchanged, and set it down in A.D. 1905 ; in A.D. 29 the mind of Christ about Himself and the Kingdom of God was a mind adapted to the time, and it has been in process of adaptation to succeeding times ever since. This is what legitimates, not

any given Christology for all time, but all Christologies each for its own time; not any doctrine of the Church or of the Christian hope as an eternal truth, but all doctrines of the Church and all eschatologies which have appeared in Christian history, each for the period whose faith has produced it.

Once more, however, we feel the necessity, and Loisy feels it too, of having something to fix the mind in this perpetual flux. Grant that a ceaseless adaptation of the mind of Christ, even about Himself and about the Kingdom of God, is wanted, if Christianity is to live in a constantly changing and growing world, and still there must be something abidingly true in it to adapt; how are we to get hold of this? This is the critical point, and it is not very clear how Loisy answers the question. It is something, surely, which has been present in the history of men, that we wish to grasp; yet he tells us that at no stage of its development is the object of faith—and it is the object of faith which undergoes all these modifications and adaptations—perceptible, for the historian, as a *réalité de fait*. It is not for the historian to decide, among other things, if the Messianic idea in its first form and in its successive transformations is a truth. He knows it only as an idea or a force. On the other hand, “he will recognize in the most authentic words of Jesus the substance of this faith, viz., the eternal and unique predestination of the Messiah, His unique rôle in the economy of salvation, and His unique relation to God, a relation not based on a simple knowledge of His goodness, but on a substantial communication of Divine spirit, that is, of God Himself, to the predestined Messiah.” We may not be sure that we see the point of every word in this, but one thing seems certain; notwithstanding what has just been said about the invisibility of the object of faith, and notwithstanding the reduction of Christianity, in a passage already quoted, to a metaphysical

relation of the human and the divine, quite independent of Christ and of history, Loisy acknowledges at this point that the essence of Christianity lies in something which is to be seen in Christ alone, and which even the historian can see. The substance of the Christian faith which has lived through all the Christian centuries and which, through perpetual self-adaptation, has dominated their ideas and their institutions, making them the vehicles of Christianity—the substance of this Christian faith is recognizable by the historian in the most authentic words of Jesus. We do get the eternal truth and standard of Christianity in Christ and in history after all.

It may be partly due to mental slowness in the reader, partly to inconsistency in the writer, but much of Loisy leaves upon the mind a disagreeable impression of juggling with the ideas of faith and history. It is quite true that a distinction can be drawn; but when the distinction is pressed as though faith were independent of history, or as though the historian and the Christian could never be one man, who was bound to bring his spiritual life to unity and consistency with itself, a simple reader is apt to feel that he is being mocked. It is as though M. Loisy wished to argue him into the belief that faith is sufficient for itself; the spirit of Christ, or the Christian idea living in history, through Christian institutions, produces all the truths and hopes and motives—yes, and all the history—that it needs. The common mind of man is too honest ever to take up with any such conception. The only Christian faith it is or can be interested in is that which rests on historical fact, not that which rests on itself and produces facts. The common sense of mankind agrees with what is said of the Spirit in the Fourth Gospel; He shall not speak of Himself; He shall take of Mine and shall show it unto you. If we have no unassailable facts to go upon, which are antecedent to faith—no facts which have it in

them to produce faith—then the Christian religion must cease to be. There may be a higher life of humanity in a general sense, a life which is independent of anything in the New Testament records; but if we cannot preach Christ to men who do not believe, with a view to evoking faith—that is, if there are not facts about Christ and facts embodied in Christ to which we can bear a testimony that is indistinguishably historical and Christian—then we can never propagate anything which is entitled to the name of Christianity.

To ask what these essential facts are is to ask a question too large to be answered here. But two, at least, are conspicuous. In the first place, we must know historically how Christ conceived of Himself. This is not to be discovered only in express assertions of which He is the subject; it may be revealed in an infinite variety of ways. But it must be discoverable as historical fact, if anything is to survive in the world which can have such a continuity with the religion of the New Testament as to entitle it to the Christian name. When a writer like Weinel raises the question whether Jesus regarded Himself as more than a man, and notwithstanding an eager profession of loyalty to Jesus tells us that it is his scientific duty to confess that the question can no longer be answered with certainty, one can only be glad that a Christian education is so tenacious, and that the human mind is so capable of inconsistency. If Jesus was not in His own consciousness, and in historical fact, quite independent of how men took it, more than another unit in the census lists of the Roman empire, and if we cannot be historically sure of this, then Christianity has no foundation. The other essential fact is the exaltation of Jesus. Both Harnack and Loisy deal with this on lines which to most Christians will seem quite inadequate. We need hardly recall Harnack's distinction between the Easter faith and the Easter message. Evidently he regards

them as entirely separable things : the faith is self-attesting, and may be accepted, though we reject the message. Loisy's criticism of this does not touch the point. The distinction, he says, is not historical ; it may have a basis in reason, but it has none in the gospel ; in point of fact, the faith historically lived in the message and had no life apart from it. But what Loisy means by this is that out of the Christian life in the hearts of Jesus' friends the message and the faith were born together ; they have the same kind of internal historicity, and in conjunction they were potent enough to generate the most wonderful experiences. But this is not in the least the point of view of any of the primitive witnesses, nor does it provide the basis for any Christianity of the fibre which we find in the New Testament. According to the Evangelists, it is not faith which produces the message ; neither are the message and faith the common birth of one mysterious but purely spiritual experience ; it is the message which produces faith. Jesus was not exalted merely in the faith and love of His disciples, as though He had said to them, *Because you live I shall live also* ; He was exalted *simpliciter*, exalted for unbelief as truly, though not to the same intent, as for faith ; or else we have no *Christian* religion to preach.

The essence of Christianity must lie both in what Christ was and in what He is, and both what He was and what He is must have reality in every sense of the word. Harnack's tendency is to emphasize the *was* at the expense of the *is*, and then to beat himself into a moral passion in the contemplation of the past. Loisy's is to emphasize the *is* at the expense of the *was*, and to reconcile himself by ingenious sophistries to all that is least Christian in the Church of Rome, because all of it is connected somehow with the movement initiated by Jesus. But justice is only done when the *was* and the *is* are equally emphasized ; when the exaltation of Jesus is seen to make the past present,

and the historical eternal and divine. Christianity has to be naturalized in the world—Loisy is right in emphasizing this aspect of the truth; but it is a supernatural thing which has to be naturalized, and Harnack may seem to have the acuter sense of that. But neither can be said to do justice to what is as essential as the presence of a divine life in Jesus when He walked the earth nineteen hundred years ago: the perpetuation of that same life, not by the vivid exercise of the historical imagination, and still less by the mere inheritance of Christian tradition, but by the action of the spirit of Jesus, exalted to the right hand of God.

JAMES DENNEY.

*ISAAC, THE TYPE OF QUIETNESS.*

ISAAC is one of those men who have never received justice from the readers of Bible history, not because anything very serious can be said against them, but because very little can be said about them, either good or bad. His fate is not to be criticized, it is to be ignored; it is not that people have a grudge against him, it is that they have no opinion about him. If one were required to write a sketch of Isaac and to subtract from it all that belonged to Abraham and all that must be assigned to Rebecca, there would be a very scanty balance. He appeared in various striking scenes, but in each he was only a secondary figure—a mere accessory to the play. Once only did he take the initiative, and that was a blunder; Isaac never took a line of his own, except on that ill-starred occasion, and even that may be left out of account, for he was completely helpless in other people's hands. Sum up his record according to the book of Genesis and it comes to this: at twenty-five Abraham would have sacrificed him; at forty Abraham

married him ; at sixty his sons were born ; at a hundred and thirty-seven Jacob deceived him ; and at a hundred and eighty Isaac died. Add for the sake of completeness that Isaac was born, and you have all the features of this drab-coloured and characterless life. It is interesting to discover with what a small capital of his own a man can carry on life, and even gain a historical name. It looks as if one might blot out Isaac and lose nothing except a name from the refrain of Hebrew history, "Abraham, Isaac and Jacob."

Life affords at least three opportunities for individuality, when the most modest and retiring man will assert his rights and put himself in evidence before the world. The first is his faith. One expects every religious man to make some contribution, however slight, to the experience of the race ; to illustrate some view of God, to verify some fact in the conflict of the soul, to pass on the torch with fuller light ; in short, to have seen something at first hand. But although Isaac was an engaging example of personal piety—meditating at eventide—he did not add anything to the legacy left by Abraham. He did not even lay out Abraham's hardly won riches to usury, he hid them in a napkin. Revelation comes to a standstill in Isaac ; he kept what he got, but he made no addition. We owe to Abraham the idea of One God, to Jacob the idea of the training of character ; to Isaac we owe no text, no incident, no achievement of active faith. During all his life he had only one revelation, and this is how it ran : "I am the God of Abraham, thy Father ; I will bless thee for my servant Abraham's sake." God was Abraham's God, therefore Isaac's ; Abraham was God's friend, therefore Isaac was blessed. His faith was hereditary, his blessing was second hand ; he was, so to say, included in Abraham, an annexe to the greater figure. Another opportunity for independent action in a man's life is marriage. The meekest, and one might



add, the meanest of men, show some spirit in this transaction, and the most timid and subservient demand some choice. If a man allows himself to be married out of hand, he must be nearly invertebrate. One is absolutely certain that Abraham chose Sarah, and that Sarah also chose him ; we know how Jacob wooed and won Rachel ; but Isaac is, as usual, simply passive, a pawn to be moved in this high game of life as may suit the player. He does not propose to marry, although long past the age of custom, till his father gives the order ; he allows his father's man of business, to go in search of a wife for him ; he accepts the woman the servant brings without question. It was filial piety carried to a fault. The last opportunity for being one's self is sinning, and people can usually strike out a sin for themselves, but even this disastrous originality was beyond the compass of Isaac. His chief lapse from correct conduct was declaring Rebecca to be his sister, because he was afraid to confess that she was his wife. One no sooner reads the story than he fancies that he has read it before. Of course he has. One may be sure that he has seen everything which Isaac did in some other person's life. Read Abraham for Isaac, and Sarah for Rebecca, and we have a replica of Abraham's falsehood at the Court of Pharaoh. Isaac's very sins were copies. He did what other people did ; he said what other people said ; he sinned as other people sinned. Little things reveal character, a trick of manner, a mode of signature, a carriage of the head, and the secondariness of Isaac comes out even in the digging of a well. He did not go to a new place and make wells of his own ; there was in him no spirit of adventure, and no capacity for discovery. He sought out the spots where his father had been. He did not invent new names for his wells. There was in him no freshness nor fancy ; he fell back on the names of Abraham. Here is Isaac drawn to the life. "He digged again the

wells of water which they had digged in the days of Abraham, his father, and he called their names after the names by which his father had called them."

When the mind is brought to a focus upon Isaac you recognize him as a person you are seeing every day, and whom you neither like nor dislike, because he leaves no impression. There are people whom we cannot pass by or leave out of account. They catch the eye like a rugged peak against the sky, they thrill our nerves like an electric current. We know that a new force is in action as soon as they enter a room. They leave a blank after they have gone; when they speak it is as if the light had been switched on. When they act it is as if the wind were filling out the sails. We remember what they said years afterwards, because it was so incisive, so luminous. We yield to what they propose because there is such a force of will in them, such a masterful individuality. Their vitality affects us, their personality coerces us. We may disagree with them; it will be violently. We may oppose them; it must be fiercely. They rouse us to the height of our strength; they make life strenuous round about them. It would have been impossible to forget Abraham; it would not have been safe to ignore Jacob; it might have been a comfort to escape from Abraham to the company of Isaac—just to rest as one wearied with the rapids appreciates the quiet pool below. There are people, again, who make no demand on us, whose words we could not possibly remember one hour after they were spoken. They have no views, no ideas, no preferences. They rise in the morning, they talk about the weather, they do their routine duty, they pay their taxes, they go to bed, they fill each one a place among the many thousand people which make up a city. Were one stretched upon a rack and compelled to describe that kind of person he could not, for there is nothing in the person to distinguish him from any other. He has no

more individuality than a housefly, and all flies are about the same size, and do the same things, and have the same expression of countenance. There are many respectable and well doing people of the Isaac type who are as hard to identify and to characterize. They have really nothing of their own, even their spiritual clothes are all on loan, and we could trace them if we took the trouble. This was from his father, that from his teacher, that other from his friend. We could undress him like a lay figure, and we would come at last on a mere framework, a skeleton covered with creeds and habits. None of them is owned, all of them are put on by other people's hands. There are men who can hardly be said to have an individual existence, who have hardly any right to say I.

Browning declares that God withdraws His overwhelming personality and holds each of us at arm's length from Him in order that the new-born creature may have room to breathe and live. Surely it is the Divine will that each of us, whether great or small, should be a real person—living not by the permission of another, but in his own right. It is a crime to suppress any one's individuality, and one from which the Isaac type largely, and perhaps inevitably, suffers. His life shows how a shrinking and gentle nature can be reduced to a non-entity by the very people who loved him most, and how they prevented a man with a real quality of his own from his just development. It was his fortune to be the favoured son of Abraham, to live from his early days in the presence of majestic virtue, and he had the drawback of his privileges. Abraham did so grandly that it was almost useless for Isaac to do at all; he was so able that Isaac was not expected to think; his faith was so comprehensive that it sheltered Isaac and smothered him. Abraham overshadowed Isaac; while the father lived there was no room for the son. Before Abraham died Isaac had fallen under

the power of another masterful personality. In his *Life of John Sterling*, Carlyle speaks of childhood as the inarticulate age; it is half pathetic and half ludicrous to notice that this meek and patient man seems to have been all his life inarticulate, and to have been passed from hand to hand like a labelled package. It was Isaac's lot to be married to a wife neither as good nor as great, but as able as his father, and from the day that enterprising woman alighted from her camel at his tent door, Rebecca took Isaac in hand, and did for him. Till he was forty years of age Isaac was under his father, from forty till Rebecca died he was under his wife's; he was first Abraham's son, then he was Rebecca's husband; he was never Isaac, master of his life or of his household. He was ordered, cared for, managed, cheated all his days, because, although he had a delightful quality of his own which neither his father nor his wife had, he happened to be the son of a famous father, and the husband of a clever woman. Like over-reaching trees those two shut out the light from this modest soul, blanching its leaves and impoverishing its strength, and now when one draws back the branches and peers in on Isaac, he can hardly find anything worth the trouble. Isaac was not to blame—at least less than the other people—Abraham and Rebecca are responsible. No doubt he should have asserted himself; certainly he ought not to have been obliterated. It is a perpetual injustice in life, this domination of clever, strong-willed, high-spirited people. One notices that distinguished fathers have often very inferior sons, and people looking about for an ingenious explanation say that nature is resting. Perhaps nature, like land, can be over-cropped, but is it not possible that a father may be so unconsciously aggressive, and so absolutely superior, that the son falls into quiet despair and accepts his rôle, to be his father's son. On every hand one sees husbands merged in their wives, and wives in their husbands, so that one hardly wastes

time in considering both ; he deals with the dominant partner and knows that that is equivalent to the firm. It is an unintentional, but most practical wrong ; it is crippling and reducing the resources of human life. As one wanders down some back street he comes upon a low-lying house with those mysterious words across the walls, "Ancient Lights." They mean that even this obscure cottage has its right to light, and that no one may build high houses on the right hand and the left to shut it up in darkness. With Isaac's life before us in the Scripture biography one affirms the principle that every person has a right to be himself, not an echo or a repetition ; to develop his character along his own line, to do God's will in his own way, and that neither father nor mother, husband nor wife, master nor friend, nor society should filch this right away, or conspire to limit and impoverish a human soul.

If Abraham had given freer play to Isaac, and if Rebecca had been more like Rachel ; if this much-enduring and uncomplaining man had only once had the freedom of himself, and enjoyed God's sunshine in the open, he might have grown not into a brilliant but into a beautiful character. As with many reticent unobtrusive natures there were rich possibilities in Isaac : he had the capacity for sacrifice. The glory of unquestioning faith and unreserved self-abnegation on Mount Moriah has as usual been assigned without rebate to Abraham, and no doubt it was a vast surrender when he bound his only son to the Altar. Were it not that Isaac is unanimously, and perhaps justly regarded as a mere cipher—a man of no account—some little heroism, and some little faith might have been put to his credit. Plainly, it was a sudden and terrible fate to die by the hands of his father, when life was still young in his veins, and when he had begun to realize his heritage as Abraham's son. A man of twenty-five need not be taken

to an altar by an old man unless he pleases, after full allowance has been made for the rights of a father over a son, on which Canon Mozley insists in his *Ruling Ideas in Early Ages*, it remains a remarkable instance of the capacity for uncomplaining sacrifice in quiet people that he should have yielded. One does not turn with confidence to brilliant and expansive people when he is asking for an act of painful service; the wise man seeks out some unnoticed dutiful soul because that kind of person will bare his breast to the blade without a murmur. Isaac believed that his death would in some way he did not understand further the good of his house and God's Kingdom, and so without more ado and without even striking an attitude, he offered himself. Few men have lived a more uneventful life, but none could have done more bravely. Here, if nowhere else in his modest career was manhood, and gentleness.

That gentleness

Which, when it weds with manhood, makes a man.

Isaac was capable also of real magnanimity of which the history gives a long illustration. Like many men who do not care about riches and have not exerted themselves, who have received a fortune, and allowed it to multiply, Isaac grew rich automatically, and became so great that his neighbour Abimelech ordered him to depart because there was not enough water for both. Was the Philistine jealous? If so, so be it; Isaac settled in the valley of Gerar and digged again the wells of his fathers. Whereupon the herdsmen of Gerar in their turn claimed the water after the fashion of grasping and unscrupulous people everywhere. Very good, said Isaac, let them have the wells, and he called the place Contention. His men dug another well, and the Philistines would have it also. They got it, for Isaac would not fight for a well, and he called the place Hatred. Another well was sunk, and this they

were allowed to keep, and Isaac with a sigh of relief called it Room, for now, said he, "the Lord has made room for us." What were wells, and water, and herds, and pastures, to a man in whose heart reigned the peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which came to him in the evening hours. Esau would have fought the Philistines, not so much for the wells as for the joy of fighting, and Jacob would have cheated them out of the wells for their money's worth, but quiet people have their own virtue. Dean Church, in one of his most admirable books, traces the beginnings of the distinctive Christian character in Old Testament history, and however Isaac may have weakened or been brow-beaten in his life, he illustrated the inoffensiveness and meekness of the beatitudes. He may not have been clever or conspicuous, but it cannot be denied that he was a selfless man, and his unselfishness had even at that early date its reward. This very Abimelech, for shame's sake, or for some other reason more potent with a Philistine's heart, sent an embassy of peace to Isaac, and they made a covenant together, so Isaac settled down in the land amid general good will, and anticipated the law of Jesus. "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth; blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Isaac had also what may prove the chief talent of life; he had the capacity for love. When we see him in the fields at eventide he is a sad man, because he has lost his mother, and although he was forty years and more, his heart was in Sarah's grave. He had that tenacity of affection which is often wanting in the character of grander natures, and was not very conspicuous in that of Abraham, but which is the dower of quiet people. When Rebecca came as a gift from God he took her into his mother's tent and gave her his mother's place in his heart. Whether that acute woman dealt faithfully with Isaac is another question. He

at least was faithful to her. Abraham and Jacob might fall beneath themselves; in family life Isaac repaid the unique trust of Rebecca with an unswerving loyalty. For the love that does not speak and has no show is strong as death, and people who have never said a memorable word or done a brilliant action have often been first in love.

Isaac's life, with all its losses and its weaknesses, is an apotheosis of quietness and a life to be copied in modern times, for we are being debased by sensationalism, and have come to think life hardly worth living unless we stand daily in the eye of the public. Is he a statesman, or a millionaire, or a popular preacher, or a showman or a criminal? Then we talk about him, and his picture is in the papers, and people go to see him, and they ask for his autograph. If a person be not something striking, they cease to have any interest in him. Quietness and tameness are for us synonymous. We are too restless, too excited, too ambitious, too shallow. We work, but we do not think; we rest, but we do not meditate. Meditation, like the secret of Venetian glass and of letter writing and the making of liturgies, is a lost art. It requires time and humility, and we have neither.

We chatter, nod, and hurry by,  
And never once possess our soul  
Before we die.

Our generation needs beyond any one of the past to be delivered from garish ideals and to learn quietness. "What great peace and quietness would he possess who would cast off all vain anxiety, think only on divine things, and place his confidence in God," Who was "the fear of Isaac."

JOHN WATSON.



*THE LIFE OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO  
ST. MARK.<sup>1</sup>*

XXXIII. THE JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM, X. 32-52.

(a) 32-34, *Renewed Prophecy of Death and Resurrection.* Ever since Peter's Confession Jesus had been preparing for His visit to Jerusalem, and had been moving towards Judaea, first through Galilee, and then through the lands east of the Jordan. The secrecy of His movements in Galilee had secured Him from an arrest which would have thwarted His plans; and His renewed public ministry east of the Jordan and perhaps in the border districts of Judaea had recalled Him to men's minds and raised expectations as to the possibilities involved in His entry into the Holy City; now He began a direct and avowed journey thither.

In these last days Jesus was often preoccupied with His coming sacrifice of Himself; He faced this grim prospect alone, for the Apostles' lack of understanding cut Him off from their sympathy. Now as He entered on the final stage of His journey, He went on before the disciples, oblivious of them, wrapped in His own thoughts; and they followed wondering. He bore Himself in the same exalted fashion as when He came down from His interview with Moses and Elijah; the ecstasy of prophetic inspiration was upon Him, as if once more He held converse with supernatural beings; and the disciples followed, silent, awestruck, and afraid.

After a while He roused Himself, and turned to the Apostles, entered into conversation with them, and spoke afresh of His coming death and resurrection; with

<sup>1</sup> These studies do not profess to be an adequate historical and doctrinal account of Christ, but are an attempt to set forth the impression which St. Mark's account of our Lord would make on a reader whose only source of information was the Second Gospel, and who knew nothing of Christian dogmatics.

what effect St. Mark does not tell us, but the sequel shows that His words made but slight impression on them, for the next subject dealt with is

(b) 35-45. *The Ambition of the Sons of Zebedee.* The previous rebuke of Jesus<sup>1</sup> had failed to quench the spirit of jealous rivalry amongst His followers; and His renewed popularity had made them more deaf than ever to His gloomy prognostications of coming doom; rather the glory of the Kingdom seemed close at hand; doubtless Jesus would now inaugurate it at Jerusalem. Dazzled by this prospect, the sons of Zebedee came in eager excitement to ask for the chief places in the kingdom.

"Teacher," said they, "if only you would do for us whatsoever we ask."

These two sons of Zebedee, John and James, were two of the three Apostles whom Jesus trusted most implicitly and with whom He was most closely intimate. They had been with Him when others were excluded—at the house of Jairus and at the Transfiguration. "Surely," they thought, "He loves us well enough to grant us special favours." We need not suppose that after their experience of Jesus they expected Him to make promises blindfold. They spoke somewhat rhetorically, but what they meant, and what He understood them to mean, was, "Teacher, we are going to ask you a very great favour." He replied by inquiring what they sought for.

"Grant," said they, "that we may sit, one on your right hand, and one on your left hand in your glory—when you come to your kingdom."

The request showed great lack of understanding and sympathy towards Jesus, and also a measure of disloyalty towards their comrades. Yet Jesus met them with His usual patient kindness; He sought to avoid the necessity

<sup>1</sup> Unless indeed ix. 88-87 and this passage are both reminiscences of the same event.

for direct rebuke by a hint of His coming Passion. Surely they must have understood something of His many warnings; if He turned their thoughts to the experiences which awaited Him, they might remember His words and have some sense of the stress and burden of His soul; they might be ashamed of their selfish ambition and forbear to press their request.

"You know not what you ask," said Jesus. "Can you drink of the cup that I drink of, or be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am being baptized?"

But this veiled appeal was in vain; the brothers were in no mood to take hints; what they understood by the words of Jesus, or whether they understood anything by them, we cannot tell; but they were confident that they could fulfil any conditions attached to the distinction they sought, and they replied,—

"We can."

He had spoken to them in a parable, and they had not understood; He did not try to explain, but continued in the same strain,—

"The cup that I drink, you shall drink; and you shall be baptized with the baptism wherewith I am being baptized; to sit on My right and on My left is not Mine to give, but it is for those for whom it has been prepared."

Perhaps the obtuseness and self-seeking of the Apostles made Jesus distrust His judgment in calling them; He did not doubt their loyalty and affection; they would be true to Him to the end and share His fortunes; but He could not tell what would be their place in establishing the kingdom and in determining its character, laws, and principles; these things were in the hands of God.

When the other Apostles heard of the attempt of the sons of Zebedee to steal a march upon them, they were naturally indignant, and probably expressed their feelings in no measured words. Perhaps they complained to Jesus; at

any rate this new dispute came to His ears, and He called them to Him. Now He dropped figurative language and spoke plainly. The Apostles had thought of the Kingdom of God after the carnal, worldly fashion of the popular Messianic ideas; it was to be a kingdom with a magnificent court of splendid officials, a kingdom in which, as in other kingdoms, men might honourably compete for the highest posts, the greatest honours, emoluments, and authority. Jesus now told them that the principles of His Kingdom were quite different; there the first and chief would not be the man who was most successful in exacting service, obedience, and deference from his fellows, but the man who rendered service to all.

"You know," said He, "that those who are counted rulers of the Gentiles lord it over them, and their great ones exercise authority over them. But it is not so amongst you. Whosoever would be great amongst you, shall be your servant, and whosoever would be first amongst you, shall be slave of all."

The Kingdom was as the King; He was not supreme because He had trampled down all rivals, but because

"The Son of Man came not to have servants, but to be a servant, and to give His life a ransom for many."

The verses dealt with in this section are of the greatest importance; they are the most formal statement by Jesus that He was not a Messiah according to popular ideas; it is also an explicit description of the character of the kingdom. The simple principle laid down here is comprehensive and far-reaching; it involves a fundamental and essential feature of the teaching of Jesus, illustrated and confirmed, as He Himself states, in His Passion, the crowning act of His ministry.

In His concluding words Jesus made yet another attempt to win the sympathy of His followers for Himself in His impending trial.

(c) 46-52. *The Healing of the Blind Bartimæus.* In the course of His journey to Jerusalem Jesus crossed the Jordan and came to Jericho, where He spent the night. In the morning He started again accompanied by His disciples and a great crowd. The latter need not have actually belonged to His following; just then the roads were thronged with pilgrims to Jerusalem for the Passover.

On the outskirts of the town a blind beggar, the son of Timæus, sat by the wayside. The Passover pilgrimage might well be harvest-time for such; the many travellers would doubtless be generous; they were in a festive mood, and under the influence of a religion which laid much stress on almsgiving. But a greater hope was stirring in the heart of the son of Timæus; he had been told that Jesus of Nazareth was in Jericho and would leave that morning; he had heard of His mighty works and how He had opened the eyes of the blind. Now he waited eagerly for Jesus to pass by, and as he heard the noise made by one company after another, he asked again and again if Jesus of Nazareth were amongst them. At last he was told that Jesus was there, and then the confused noise of the moving throng was pierced by shrill cries, "Son of David! Jesus! Pity me!" The crowd were startled and scandalized. "Son of David" was only Messiah in other words; and hitherto such titles had only been publicly given to Jesus by demoniacs. Any Pharisees in the crowd would sneer at the notion of a Nazarene Messiah whose herald was a blind beggar. Nor would His own followers be gratified at the outcry; Peter, for instance, chafing at the reticence imposed upon him, eager to proclaim his Master's true dignity, would be indignant at being so unworthily anticipated. Many voices were raised bidding the man be silent, but opposition only provoked him to reiterate more loudly than ever, "Son of David! Jesus! Pity me!" Perhaps his cries now first reached the ears of the Master,

or Jesus may have hesitated, as in the cases of the miracle after the Transfiguration and the daughter of the Syro-phœnician woman.

"Son of David!" The title could not be a mere piece of flattery, part of a mendicant's stock-in-trade. The blind man would understand little of the meaning of the phrase for theology or for Israel or for the human race. For him the Messiah was the Healer who opened the eyes of the blind.

"Son of David! Jesus! Pity me!" The words were strangely in tune with the thoughts and purposes of Jesus; He was on His way to declare Himself the Messiah, and perhaps already the crowd caught the suggestion of a new departure from the bearing and manner of Jesus and His disciples. Every step was bringing Him nearer to Jerusalem, committing Him more deeply, making retreat more impossible. There is no sign of wavering, but doubts and misgivings must have crowded on His mind. The ringing cries, "Son of David! Jesus! Pity me!" may have seemed words of Divine encouragement and admonition almost as much as the voices from heaven at the Baptism and the Transfiguration. "Son of David" might be the promise and omen of widespread recognition of the Messiahship. The importunate and reiterated "Pity me!" would remind Him that the misery and sin of mankind called Him to Jerusalem and to the Cross.

"Son of David!" This public salutation placed Him in a dilemma; He had silenced the demoniacs who greeted Him with Messianic titles; if now He allowed Himself to be called "Son of David" without rebuke or disclaimer, He virtually declared Himself Messiah and anticipated a step He probably intended to take when He was actually entering Jerusalem. On the other hand, He could hardly disclaim the title now, and accept it a few hours later. Providence, He must have felt, had again taken times and

seasons out of His hand, and He acquiesced in its decision. Without making any protest He stopped and bade them call the son of Timæus to Him.

Forthwith officious voices cried out to the blind man, "Take courage! Arise! He calls you!" He threw off his cloak and sprang up. Then, perhaps led by friendly hands, perhaps guided only by the wonderful instinct of the blind, he came to where Jesus stood waiting for him, and heard the Master ask him, "What would you have me do?"

"Rabboni," he answered, using a title of honour only found here,<sup>1</sup> "that I may receive my sight."

"Go your way," answered Jesus; "your faith has saved you."

At once the blind man's sight returned to him, and he joined the company that followed Jesus to Jerusalem.

It was the last of Jesus' mighty works of healing, wrought in response to unquestioning and persistent faith; wrought without effort or delay, in the full tide of spiritual force in which He moved onward to His death.

W. H. BENNETT.

## THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.

### (2) SOME GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS.

IN seeking to obtain a general conception of St. Paul's ethical teaching as a whole it is of the first importance to keep always in mind the occasional and non-systematic character of the writings in which it is contained. The Epistles are not treatises, doctrinal or moral, but *epistles*, that is to say letters, written for the most part under the stress of some urgent need, and revealing in every page the traces of their origin. This does not by any means rob them of their character as authoritative expositions of the mind of Christ, nor reduce them to the level of mere private

<sup>1</sup> I.e. in St. Mark.

*obiter dicta* of the Apostle, but it does explain certain obvious characteristics which might otherwise be a source of perplexity to us. Thus, not everything in St. Paul's teaching is for all time ; the local and temporary mingle with the universal and eternal. The Apostle's purpose being for the most part immediate and practical, he passes quickly from general principles to their particular application to the case before him. And though the principles abide for our guidance still, their application in the twentieth century may be widely different from that given to them in the first. Thus, for every Christian man, as for the Apostle, liberty must always be limited by expediency ; but the precise character of the limitation will vary indefinitely ; the New Testament draws no rigid boundary lines. So that to seek, e.g., to bind the hands of the Church to-day by certain regulations which, for temporary and prudential reasons, St. Paul laid down concerning the position of women in Christian assemblies 1,900 years ago, would be a sheer perversity of mis-interpretation. The Apostle's own disregard of the solemn decision of the Council of Jerusalem in the matter of the eating of meats offered to idols should be a sufficient warning to us not to confuse the local and temporary with the universal and eternal in the Word of God. It further follows from the character of St. Paul's writings that besides some things which do not now need to be said, or which must be said differently, there are other things which Christian ethics to-day must treat of, but concerning which they are wholly silent. In other words, there are in St. Paul's ethical teaching certain great ethical implications which remained in the Apostolic age implications only, and which it is the business of the Christian teacher and preacher from time to time, as the need may be, to make explicit.

Despite, however, this inevitable fragmentariness, and admitting that the moral utterances of the Apostle "do



not seem to spring from any consciously developed system of moral ideas,"<sup>1</sup> it is, I think, still possible to speak of St. Paul's ethical teaching as a whole, and to indicate two or three of its general characteristics. These will form the subject of the present paper.

## I.

Reference has been made in the previous paper to a statement of Professor Huxley to the effect that Christianity inherited a good deal from Paganism and from Judaism; and that if the Stoics and the Jews revoked their bequest the moral property of Christianity would realize very little.<sup>2</sup> It is indeed strange that so keen an observer as Huxley should have missed so completely the wholly new element which with Christianity entered into the moral life of the world. The ancient world had its own lofty ideals of goodness, and there is no need to depreciate them in order to exalt the ideal of the New Testament; it is nevertheless a fact that in the emphasis which it laid on the gentler virtues, on humility and patience and forbearance, on pity and kindness and the spirit of service, the New Testament struck a note which was wholly new in the ears of men. To that fierce, hard Roman world it proclaimed: "Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and railing be put away from you, with all malice: and be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other, even as Christ also in God forgave you."<sup>3</sup> It

<sup>1</sup> T. B. Strong's *Christian Ethics*, p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> McGiffert's language is almost as unguarded as Huxley's: "When it came to the specific traits of character, or the specific duties which conformity to the Divine will required, it is a notable fact that there was comparatively little difference between the ethical principles of the Christians and the principles of the best men of the Pagan world. The general ideal of the Christian life was practically little else than complete conformity to the highest ethical standards of the world at large" (*The Apostolic Age*, p. 506).

<sup>3</sup> Eph. iv. 31, 32.

laid low all vaunting pride, all shrill ambitions: "Not looking each of you to his own things, but each of you also to the things of others. Have this mind in you which was in Christ Jesus."<sup>1</sup> It plucked up by the roots the blood-red blossom of hate: "Let not the sun go down upon your wrath"; "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink."<sup>2</sup> Let us think of what Corinth was in the middle of the first century of the Christian era, and then of the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle which St. Paul wrote to the Church in that city, and we shall have some measure of the greatness of the change which must have come before men could so much as think it right to order their lives by words like these.

Nothing perhaps illustrates with more startling clearness the contrast between the ancient and modern world than the place assigned in each to such virtues as humility and forgiveness. In the Pauline list of virtues they rank among the highest; to the moral teachers of antiquity they were of less than no account. Mr. Morley has told us how once, at Biarritz, as Mr. Gladstone was discoursing on his favourite theme, the superiority of the Greeks, there followed this instructive bit of table talk:—

*Mr. G.*: "I admit there is no Greek word of good credit for the virtue of humility."

*J. M.*: "ταπεινότης? But that has the association of meanness."

*Mr. G.*: "Yes; a shabby sort of humility. Humility as a sovereign grace is the creation of Christianity."<sup>3</sup>

An exactly similar claim is put in for the Christian virtue of forgiveness by the author of *Ecce Homo*. "In the law of forgiveness," he says, "and still more in the law of un-

<sup>1</sup> Phil. ii. 4, 5.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. iv. 26; Rom. xii. 20.

<sup>3</sup> *Life of Gladstone*, vol. iii. p. 466. In confirmation of the accuracy of Mr. Gladstone's dictum see Trench's *Synonyms of the New Testament*, p. 148. In the Roman civilization, says Mr. Lecky, "pride was deemed the greatest of virtues and humility the most contemptible of weaknesses" (*Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii. p. 102).

limited forgiveness, a startling shock was given to the prevailing beliefs and notions of mankind. And by this law an ineffaceable and palpable distinction has been made between ancient and modern morality. . . . Undoubtedly friends fell out and were reconciled in antiquity as amongst ourselves. But where the only relation between the two parties was that of injurer and injured, and the only claim of the offender to forgiveness was that he was a human being, then forgiveness seems not only not to have been practised, but not to have been enjoined nor approved." <sup>1</sup>

The significance of this new accent in morals which we owe to Christianity has been recognized by few writers more clearly than by Mr. Lecky. "In antiquity," he says, "the virtues that were most admired were almost exclusively those which are distinctively masculine. Courage, self-assertion, magnanimity, and, above all, patriotism, were the leading features of the ideal type; and chastity, modesty, and charity, the gentler and the domestic virtues, which are especially feminine, were greatly undervalued." <sup>2</sup> But these latter—the "amiable" virtues, as Mr. Lecky elsewhere calls them—are the very virtues which the New Testament crowns with glory and honour. In this writer's judgment Christianity has effected nothing less than a reversal in the order of pre-eminence among the virtues; it has put down courage and patriotism from their seat and has exalted humility and meekness, and in this change he sees the great and characteristic distinction between ancient and modern morality. Mr. Lecky being judge, "the moral property of Christianity" would seem to be pretty considerable after all.

In admitting, however, the general accuracy of the view expressed with such vigour and lucidity by the historian of European morals, we must avoid the error of supposing

<sup>1</sup> pp. 272 seq.

<sup>2</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. ii. p. 361.

that the New Testament exalts any particular type of virtue at the expense of another. What it really does is to make human character complete. It does not dethrone courage—was there ever a braver man than St. Paul?—but it enthrones meek humility by its side. To the strength of manhood it adds the grace and tenderness of womanhood, and in the life of Him who is our great Exemplar it reveals a character which is neither male nor female, but human and complete. So of the unfinished arc does it make the perfect round. And if in the words both of the Master and of His Apostles there is a seeming disregard of that which before the best had counted most worthy of honour, if courage and justice and patriotism seem to receive less than is their due, the explanation is not that these things were by them lightly esteemed, but rather that the time had now come when to the old must be added the new and harder lesson without which men could not be made perfect.

## II.

It is an easy transition from what has just been said to the second distinguishing characteristic of the ethical ideal revealed in St. Paul's teaching to which I wish to refer, viz. its *symmetry* and *balance*. "Since all ethics," says a thoughtful writer,<sup>1</sup> "are a delicate equipoise, it is possible to incline the balance too far, and in over-doing a virtue to make it first cousin to a vice." It is one of the common-places of morality that great virtues and great vices are often closely allied, the vice being but a perversion, or exaggeration, of its kindred virtue. Thrift is good, but how easily it passes into miserliness! Tenderness is a Christian duty, but how few are the steps down to culpable weakness! We do well sometimes to be angry, but how quickly is the clear, bright flame of holy wrath lost in the dark fumes of vindictive hate! Indeed, the welfare of our

<sup>1</sup> In the *Spectator*, July 23, 1904.

moral life is continually being imperilled by the dominant authority which certain ideas exercise in the mind to the practical exclusion of almost all others.<sup>1</sup> Those strange gaps in the character of good men with which we are so painfully familiar usually indicate corresponding blanks in the ethical ideals by which they are governed. Human nature, it has been wittily said, is "evangelized in sections," and religion instead of being made authoritative over the whole life is used simply as a confirmation of a particular moral hobby, with the result that what ought to be the fairest and comeliest of all God's works—a Christian character—is a synonym in many minds to-day for moral unshapeliness and deformity.

But however freely criticism may speak in presence of the Christian ideal as it is revealed in the life of to-day, it can have little to say against that ideal as it is set before us in the writings of St. Paul. There, at least, is an ideal whose beauty of moral symmetry all men must desire; for, in the Christian character, as it is outlined by the Apostle, there is tenderness without weakness, strength without harshness, meekness without cowardice. "The fruit of the light is in *all* goodness and righteousness and truth."<sup>2</sup> And though it be true that the Epistles are but a fragment, yet in them we behold, as in some unfinished work of art, the perfect proportions and harmonious grace which betray the master's hand. One example must suffice to illustrate what is meant. A first reading of the Epistles might perhaps leave on the mind the impression that the writer had exaggerated the importance of the virtues of self-restraint. The summons to that "limitless self-suppression" which

<sup>1</sup> As an illustration of what is meant I may quote (without necessarily endorsing) Dean Church's remark concerning Dean Stanley: "He was a very earnest preacher of religious morality, though he was blind to some important parts of it, and was driven by his religious partizanship to exaggerate some other parts" (*Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 294).

<sup>2</sup> Eph. v. 9.

has been said to be "the secret of life,"<sup>1</sup> is both loud and reiterated. Apart, however, from the fact that the moral necessities of the Churches to which St. Paul's letters were addressed would naturally lead him to lay emphasis on those virtues which were wanting in the ideals of Paganism, a fuller and closer examination of his writings will go far to modify the first impression. He exhorts men to meekness and patience under wrongdoing; yet the fires of resentment are not to be quenched; they must learn to be angry and sin not.<sup>2</sup> He insists in words white hot in their intensity on the absolute finality of the Gospel which he preached; for it was not his but Christ's. Yet again and again he makes his appeal to the judgment; he bids his readers prove all things,<sup>3</sup> judge what he says,<sup>4</sup> approve what is excellent<sup>5</sup>; in nothing would he lord it over their faith.<sup>6</sup> St. Paul is the great Apostle of spiritual emancipation, with all its risks and inconveniences; and he is never perhaps more truly himself than when, as in his Epistle to the Galatians, he is fighting the battles of spiritual freedom. It is a significant fact that the spirit of national independence has nowhere been so strong as in those nations which have received most plainly the impress of his powerful mind. In the old conflict, too, between culture and restraint, between Greek and Hebrew ideals, St. Paul holds the balance even. Hebrew as he was, it was impossible that he should not see the need and the worth of asceticism; but he is no apostle of asceticism for its own sake. "I buffet my body," he says, "and bring it into bondage," but only for this reason: "Lest by any means that, after I have preached to others, I myself should be rejected."<sup>7</sup> The means is of value only for the sake of the end; the self-renunciation only for the sake of that ultimate self-development which is the true goal of life. Did ever a

<sup>1</sup> See the motto prefixed to the Life of Hugh Price Hughes.

<sup>2</sup> Eph. iv. 26.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Thess. v. 21.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. x. 15.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. i. 10.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Cor. i. 24.

<sup>7</sup> 1 Cor. ix. 27.

Greek in the fervour of his enthusiasm for self-affirmation propose to himself a nobler ideal than that which St. Paul held before the eyes of the Philippian Christians? "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honourable, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."<sup>1</sup> In the Apostle Paul the Hebraist and the Hellenist are met together,<sup>2</sup>

### III.

A third characteristic of the Pauline ethic which may be noted is its *universality*. It makes its appeal to no aristocracy of intellect, but to all men; the highest it declares to be within reach of the lowest: "Admonishing *every* man and teaching *every* man in all wisdom, that we may present *every* man perfect in Christ,"<sup>3</sup> where the emphatic reiteration is a designed protest against the intellectual exclusiveness of the Gnostic heresy. Most of St. Paul's letters were addressed to churches in which a very large proportion of the members must have belonged to the poorest and most neglected classes of the community; yet his words were meant for all without distinction. Never once does it seem to occur to him, even in his loftiest flights of moral appeal, that he is mocking the slave and the outcast with visions of the unattainable. As a recent writer<sup>4</sup> has pointed out, questions like housing arrangements, rate of wages, and other matters of a similar kind, which from our

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 8.

<sup>2</sup> "It is important to note how far superior the Christian Ethic is, in this respect, to earlier and moral systems, and especially to Stoicism. In its initial stage, Stoicism narrowed the fulness, and broke up the harmony of life by repressing the freedom of its powers; while it ended in the mutilation of human nature, the withering of the emotions, and even the extinction of the passions. Christianity, on the other hand, enjoined no kind of crucifixion, except of things that are intrinsically evil; its aim being the transfiguration of the passions. The end it contemplated was the restoration of humanity, and the increase of its powers" (Knight's *Christian Ethic*, p. 29).

<sup>3</sup> Col. i. 28. See Lightfoot, *in loco*.

Dobschütz, *Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. xxxiv.

modern point of view are so full of moral significance, are never once touched upon by St. Paul. Social statistics lie wholly below his horizon. We are not sure whether it is possible for a man to be a Christian on a pound a week, or in a one-roomed house; the Apostle is confident that by the grace of God we may "all attain unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."<sup>1</sup>

And here, again, we see the sharpness of the contrast between ancient and Christian ethics. The pre-Christian moralists never shook themselves free from their aristocratic conception of morality. Through all their teaching there runs, consciously or unconsciously, a doctrine of election: the heights for the few; the plain—or the depths—for the many. "The temper of Stoicism," says Lightfoot, "was essentially aristocratic and exclusive in religion, as it was in politics. While professing the largest comprehension, it was practically the narrowest of all the philosophical castes."<sup>2</sup> In Cicero's *De Officiis* a distinction is drawn between the ideal morality of the wise man and the morality of the common man.<sup>3</sup> The same temper meets us in Philo; "His Gospel," says Jowett, "is not that of humanity, but of philosophers and of ascetics. . . . There is no trace in him of that faith which made St. Paul go forth as a conqueror."<sup>4</sup>

The daring sweep which St. Paul gives to his teaching is explained and justified in large measure by the character of the teaching itself. It is universal in its reach because it is universal in its character; it speaks to all because

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 18. "It seems to me," writes Dean Church, "that the exultation apparent in early Christian literature, beginning with the Apostolic Epistles, at the prospect now at length disclosed within the bounds of a sober hope . . . that men, not here and there, but on a large scale, might attain to that hitherto hopeless thing to the multitudes—goodness—is one of the most singular and solemn things in history" (*The Gifts of Civilization*, p. 156).

<sup>2</sup> Essay, "St. Paul and Seneca," *Epistle to Philippians*, p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> Luthardt's *History of Christian Ethics*, p. 16.

<sup>4</sup> Essay, "St. Paul and Philo," *Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Romans*, vol. i. p. 429.



it has something to say to all. With Christ and His Apostles the whole notion of morality moves inward. Instead of the "provincial edicts" with which pre-Christian morality was so largely engaged, we have now "imperial laws" which are meant to govern the whole universe of moral agency.<sup>1</sup> For reasons which have already been explained, questions purely local and temporary in their interest, and (we may sometimes be tempted to add) trivial in their character, do, it is true, find a place in the writings of St. Paul. But trivial as the question to us may now seem to be there is nothing trivial in the Apostle's treatment of it. The last charge one would be disposed to bring against the great Stoic moralists is a lack of inwardness, yet can any one imagine St. Paul gravely writing a sentence like this from the pen of Seneca? "To Attalus I owe it that I have never all my life touched oysters or mushrooms; that I have given up perfume, and absolutely renounced the use of enervating warm baths, as well as of wine. The other bad habits, which I then got rid of, have alas! returned; but if I do not totally abstain, I at least practise moderation, which is almost as difficult."<sup>2</sup> Let any one call to mind St. Paul's discussion of the vexed question of the eating of meats offered to idols, which figures so largely in his Epistles. To us to-day that question is in itself of no more concern than the controversies of Lilliput. But the Apostle's treatment of it—his large-mindedness, his moral sanity, his resolute appeal to the loftiest Christian principles—has raised what in other hands might have remained a petty parochial squabble, to the level of an object-lesson for all time in the delicate and difficult task of adjusting the rival claims of Christian liberty and Christian expediency.

#### IV.

Real and important, however, as are the facts to which

<sup>1</sup> The distinction is Professor Knight's; see his *Christian Ethics*, p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Senèque et Saint Paul*, par Charles Aubertin, p. 119.

in the preceding sections attention has been drawn, it has once more to be said that it is not in any of them, nor in all of them combined that the essential *differentia* of St. Paul's ethical teaching is to be found. The "cardinal virtues" of antiquity, *plus* the "theological virtues" of the New Testament, are much, but they are far from exhausting the moral content of Christianity. It is conceivable that it might have been possible to collect from various sources a book of ethical scriptures worthy in every sense to compare with the ethical precepts of St. Paul; yet even so the moral supremacy of the New Testament would have been in no wise affected. What gives to Christianity, as St. Paul received and taught it, its distinctive character is the Person in whom it centres. And until He, and the relation in which He stands towards them that are His, are construed aright, all our attempted interpretations of New Testament religion—its morality no less than its theology—are mere fumbings at a locked door of which the key is lost. To those to whom Christ is only a moral ideal, "a brilliant and primitive illustration of the religion which bears His name," a large part of the language of St. Paul must remain blankly unintelligible. It is indeed a great thing to possess, and to be able so to use, the "historic sense," as to re-create from the Four Gospels the figure of the human Jesus, the Man of Nazareth, the Prophet of Galilee; and every reader knows how serious is the loss to writers in whom this sense is wanting. Yet, after all, it is but a little way that the realism of the modern novelist, as it has been called, can carry us in the interpretation of Christianity. Of infinitely greater moment is it that we come to know Jesus Christ as our great Contemporary, risen and regnant, the First and the Last and the Living One, who was dead and is alive for evermore. The key of all St. Paul had to teach, in ethics as well as in theology, is to be found in his favourite phrase, "In

Christ.”<sup>1</sup> And if, as Dr. John Duncan used to say, the great glory of God’s revelation is that it has changed our abstracts into concretes,<sup>2</sup> it is the chief glory of St. Paul that, in place of the “moral ideal” of the secular moralist, he has given us a living, present Christ, in whom our life may find at once its norm, its source, and its guide. This all-essential fact, which is the true *differentia* of the Apostolic message, cannot be better stated than in the words of Bishop Lightfoot: “One might have thought it impossible to study with common attention the records of the Apostles and martyrs of the first ages or of the saints and heroes of the later Church, without seeing that the consciousness of personal union with Christ, the belief in His abiding presence, was the mainspring of their actions and the fountain of all their strength. This is not a preconceived theory of what should have happened, but a bare statement of what stands recorded on the pages of history. In all ages and under all circumstances, the Christian life has ever radiated from this central fire. Whether we take St. Peter or St. Paul, St. Francis of Assisi or John Wesley, whether Athanasius or Augustine, Anselm or Luther, whether Boniface or Francis Xavier, here has been the impulse of their activity and the secret of their moral power.”<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “*The free gift of God is eternal life in (not through) Christ Jesus our Lord*” (Rom. vi. 23). It is indeed most true that the Son of God won life for us, but it is not anything apart from Himself. We live, as He has made it possible for us to realize life, only in Him. Am I then wrong in saying that he who has mastered the meaning of those two propositions now truly rendered—“into the Name,” “in Christ”—has found the central truth of Christianity? Certainly I would gladly have given the ten years of my life spent on the Revision to bring only these two phrases of the New Testament to the heart of Englishmen” (Westcott’s *Some Lessons of the Revised Version of the New Testament*, p. 63). There is a similar passage in the same writer’s *Lessons from Work*, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this quotation, as well as one or two phrases of this paragraph, to Dr. James Moffatt’s “Introductory Sketch” in his delightful *Golden Book of John Owen*.

<sup>3</sup> “St. Paul and Seneca,” p. 326.

## THE OLIVE-TREE AND THE WILD-OLIVE.

### II.

THE slight account given in the first part of this paper of the importance of the Olive-tree in the economy of an Olive-growing country brings into clear relief the meaning of many passages in the Bible. Only one of these will be touched on here. When in Rev. vi. 5 f. the rider on the black horse, who symbolizes famine resulting from invasion, goes forth, there is announced scarcity, with dearth of wheat and barley, but the oil and the wine are not to be injured. The standing crops shall be wasted by the Parthian invaders, but the fruit-trees shall not suffer. The raid shall be a passing one, and shall not do permanent and lasting destruction. The land shall be able to recover with the coming of the next summer harvest, according to the facts stated above, p. 29 ff.

In view of modern opinion it is advisable before concluding to say a word about the Wild-Olive. So far as ancient literature is concerned there is no special need of much explanation. The ancients clearly distinguish between two trees—the cultivated Olive-tree, and another which is always regarded as different in kind, called *κότινος* in Greek and *oleaster* in Latin, ordinarily and (as I believe) rightly rendered Wild-Olive by modern students of ancient literature. As was pointed out in the first part of this article, p. 17 f., these are mentioned separately in lists of different trees; they were regarded as different and distinct in kind; and they were sacred to different deities. Zeus was the god to whom the Wild-Olive was sacred; but Pallas Athenaia presided over the cultivation of the Olive, she produced the tree from the ground, and the Olive-garland was the symbol of her worship. In the following remarks the term Wild-Olive is used to designate the tree

which was called by the ancients *κότινος* and *oleaster*. The ordinary unscientific, yet not unobservant, traveller,<sup>1</sup> or the ordinary inhabitant of the Olive-growing districts of Asia Minor, would have no doubt as to what tree is meant by these terms: he is familiar with both: they are both extremely common, yet different in appearance and character. He cannot doubt that these two trees would both be frequently mentioned by the ancients, and would be regarded by them as separate and distinct kinds of trees. It is a totally different case from that of the Wild-Fig: this is a false name, a mere expression of ignorance, denoting the male Fig-tree (called *ἐπίκεος* by the Greeks, and *caprificus* by the Latins).<sup>2</sup>

It is different when one comes to investigate modern opinion on the subject. Then one is involved in endless difficulties and differences of opinion, amid which it is extremely hard to pick and choose.

There is a great deal of misapprehension about the

<sup>1</sup> Throughout these articles I have been indebted to the observant eyes and retentive memory of my wife for such facts, though she must not be held responsible for any mistakes I may make.

<sup>2</sup> The Wild-Fig tree, or Male Fig, is in appearance exactly like the Fig-tree, so far as the ordinary person can detect. It very often grows in walls or stony places. The fruit is smaller, and drops off about two months before the edible figs ripen. This fruit is full of dust and flies; the flies carry the dust to fertilize the edible figs. I have been told in Asiatic Turkey that unless fertilized by this dust or pollen the figs do not ripen; but I believe that this is not strictly correct. The statements made by some modern writers that ripe figs can be found on the trees for many months—statements which so far as I know are quite incorrect—perhaps originate from a confusion between the two kinds of fig. Canon Tristram says that in the hot and low lands beside the Dead Sea the figs are ripe during most part of the year. Whether this be true or not, it does not affect the case of the barren Fig-tree mentioned in Matthew xxi., Mark xi., which was nearly 4,000 feet above the Dead Sea, where no person could dream of finding fruit at Easter. That incident is one of the most difficult in the New Testament; and nothing that has been written about it seems of any value; but I am not prepared to offer any opinion. I do not see the way open to any explanation of the difficulty, whether in the way of moral teaching or of erroneous popular mythology affecting in this case the Gospels. The passage is to me utterly obscure.

relation between the Olive and the Wild-Olive. As a general rule recent writers in English seem to have missed the truth owing to the erroneous idea that a much closer similarity exists between these two trees than is really the case. It would almost seem as if many of them thought that the Wild-Olive is simply an ordinary Olive-tree in its natural state before it is grafted, and that it is made into a true Olive by the process of grafting. That is erroneous, as Mr. W. M. Thomson recognizes, in the book which we have often quoted with admiration above. So much I think it is quite safe to say, though I may not be able to state the facts as I have seen them without falling into mistakes due to unscientific habits of mind and the inevitable inaccuracy of the mere untrained observer.

The Wild-Olive is a distinct kind of tree, which even the superficial observer would not mistake for the true Olive. It bears small fruit, which produces little oil ; it has ovate leaves of a greener colour than the grey Olive-tree ; these leaves are not so pointed and lancet-shaped as those of the Olive ; the bark is smoother, and the twigs are thorny and more square in section, whereas the Olive has no thorns and the twigs are round. The Wild-Olive is usually only a bush, which grows very widely in all those parts of the Mediterranean world that I am acquainted with (except Egypt) ; it grows in many regions where the cultivated Olive-tree is now unknown ; and it grows abundantly in regions so high and inclement that the cultivated Olive could never have existed in them. Where the Wild-Olive has room and good soil, however, it grows to be a considerable tree, as is mentioned below ; and its wood is tough, hard, and useful.

The *kotinos* is never mentioned by Homer ; and, considering the importance in Greece of the tree alike in religion and in wide diffusion, this is strange. It is, however, probable that in some cases, where he speaks of the Olive-tree,

ἐλαία, he means κότινος; and Prof. Th. Fischer seems to hold this opinion (unless he has made a mere slip, for he says that the marriage-bed which Ulysses constructed in his palace was made in the stem of a Wild-Olive, but Homer uses the name ἐλαία for that large tree (*Odyssey*, xxiii. 190 ff.). The description, certainly, suggests a Wild-Olive rather than an Olive.

The ancients were quite familiar, as might be expected, with the difference between the *kotinos* and the cultivated Olive; for Theophrastus, in his *History of Plants*, II. 3, states the principle that the *kotinos* can never develop into a true Olive-tree. This seems to imply that the ancients did not graft the true Olive shoot on the *kotinos*, though the modern cultivators in France and Spain, as well as in Greece and the islands of the Ægean Sea, often do so: yet Origen says that the process was common in his time, but (as we saw) Origen is probably speaking not from personal knowledge.

The relation of the true Olive to the Wild-Olive is very far from certain; the most diverse and very contradictory opinions are stated, sometimes with diffidence, sometimes with unhesitating confidence, by different modern authorities; and it is extremely difficult to know what to believe. While the appearance of the two kinds of tree is very different, yet the fact is indubitable that a Wild-Olive stock, grafted with a shoot from the cultivated Olive, produces a good and productive true Olive-tree. The two species are certainly very close to one another; and it is quite possible that to the scientific mind they may be much more nearly akin than they seem to the ordinary unscientific observer.

The young Olive-tree is, in course, selected from a good stock, and is a true Olive from the beginning. It is, however, the case that the true Olive can be obtained by grafting a noble scion on a Wild-Olive, and this pro-

cess has been frequently employed in modern time in the Mediterranean, where groves of Wild-Olive have thus been utilized on a large scale. But, where cultivation is long settled and Olives are planted and tended from the beginning, the young stock is noble; and this beyond all doubt was the regular ancient practice.

This leads up to a misapprehension, into which Canon Tristram has fallen in his *Natural History of the Bible*, p. 377, and which has been commonly repeated on his authority by English writers subsequently (e.g. by Messrs. Sanday and Headlam in their commentary). Canon Tristram asserts that there are three different kinds of Olive: (1) the ungrafted tree, which is the natural or Wild Olive, ἀγριέλαιος; (2) the grafted tree, the cultivated tree, ελαιία; (3) the oleaster, "a plant of a different natural order" (Sanday and Headlam), which "has no relationship to the Olive" (Tristram), yielding inferior oil, bearing long, narrow, bluish leaves, viz., the bush or small tree called *Eleagnus angustifolia*.

There is just sufficient resemblance to the truth in this account to make it peculiarly dangerous. The ungrafted Olive is, of course, different from the grafted tree; and it would in its natural ungrafted condition produce inferior fruit, containing little oil. That is the almost universal rule among cultivated fruit-trees: they must be grafted to produce well.<sup>1</sup> But this natural ungrafted Olive-tree is not ἀγριέλαιος, and is not the tree which St. Paul here has in mind.

Canon Tristram does not mention the Greek name for the shrub, which he identifies with his oleaster. He could hardly avoid the view that the Greek κότινος is the Latin oleaster; but if he stated that, he would be face to face with a serious difficulty. Many Greek authorities<sup>2</sup> say

<sup>1</sup> The fig-tree is one of the few exceptions. It may be grafted, but grows quite well from shoots alone.

<sup>2</sup> Suidas, Hesychius, Etym., Dioscorides, I. 186, Pollux, I. 241, Schol. Theocr. V. 82, etc.



that *κότινος* and *ἀγριέλαιος* denote the same tree, and most add that *κότινος* is the name used in the Attic dialect. There can be no doubt that this tree is the Wild-Olive, oleaster in Latin; and the Latin version of Origen states that this was the ground-stock on which the true Olive was grafted (an erroneous statement as regards Egypt, but correct in regard to some places).

It is, as Fischer says, still a matter of dispute among botanists whether the cultivated Olive and the Wild-Olive (*Oleaster*) are entirely distinct species, or whether the Wild-Olive is only the original and natural tree out of which the Olive has been gradually developed by generations of cultivation: or, thirdly, whether the Wild-Olive is the form into which any ordinary specimen of cultivated Olive degenerates when it is left neglected for a long time.

Professor Fischer, p. 4 f., who takes no notice of the second alternative, but only discusses the question between the first and third alternatives, inclines to the view that Olive and Oleaster are quite distinct, though he admits that the grafting of the true Olive on the *Oleaster* produces a perfectly good productive Olive-tree. Though I have no claim to be a scientific observer, yet one argument, which Professor Fischer does not notice, seems to me conclusive against his view. This argument was stated to me by the late Mr. George Dennis, author of that excellent book *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, whom I had the advantage of knowing well about 1880 to 1882, when he was H.B.M. Consul in Smyrna. Mr. Dennis was an extremely accurate observer, and his great book derives its value from its trustworthiness and accuracy, not from learned theories or ingenious combinations. Moreover, he was familiar for many years with Spain, Italy, and Sicily; and he had travelled widely in the Greek world. He said that in the neighbourhood of Cyrene, where he had travelled and excavated, the cultivated Olive no longer exists, but the

Wild-Olive abounds; and since Cyrene was once rich in Olives, he inferred that the Olive, when left uncared for during many centuries, went back to its original and natural condition as a Wild-Olive.

If this observation is correct, it seems to demonstrate that, when the cultivated Olive is left uncared for during a series of generations, it gradually relapses into a form which is closely similar to the Wild-Olive or Oleaster (though I am assured that probably a scientific observer would find differences, proving that the line of descent had been modified by generations of cultivation); and the easy explanation of this appears to be that the Wild-Olive or *κότινος* is very closely akin in descent to the original natural tree out of which the cultivated Olive was developed by generations of care.

On the other hand Professor Fischer, p. 5, quotes Von Heldreich, who in a letter written from Athens in 1882 declares that the Olive in countries like Barka (the district of Cyrene), where it has been uncultivated for so many centuries, does not degenerate into a Wild-Olive, but remains a true Olive, though becoming poorer and less productive. This statement does not seem to rest on observation, but on theory. It cannot be denied that the Wild-Olive is abundant all over the Cyrenaica; and Professor Fischer's account of the Cyrenaica, p. 69, is hardly consistent with Von Heldreich's words, though he does indeed quote some allusion to true Olives still surviving in small numbers there.

The facts are that (1) the Wild-Olive, when properly grafted with the nobler shoot, gives rise to the true Olive (though of course when ungrafted it can, as Theophrastus says, never become a true Olive): see examples in Fischer p. 5. (2) The cultivation of the Olive, which originated in Western Asia several thousand years ago, has produced a well-marked difference in the tree. (3) The Olive, if

neglected, would naturally revert to the primitive type in the course of centuries, though not completely so, for it would still retain distinguishable traces of the cultivated tree; and thus both Mr. Dennis and Von Heldreich may be correct in their statements about the Cyrenaica, from different points of view. (4) A shoot of the finest cultivated Olive, if planted, will not grow into a good and productive Olive unless it is grafted just like a Wild-Olive. The essential and indispensable fact is everywhere and in all cases the grafting of the young tree. (5) The ordinary practice in the Levant regions is to plant shoots of the cultivated Olive, and not to graft the Wild-Olive.

The conclusion is unavoidable that the Wild-Olive or Oleaster is the tree here referred to by St. Paul and contrasted with the true Olive, which is essentially a cultivated tree. It may be indeed conceded to Canon Tristram that the ungrafted young tree, even if grown from a noble shoot, may probably have been sometimes loosely called by the Greeks ἀγριέλαιος, because it had not yet been ennobled<sup>1</sup>; but this furnishes no proof that such was the regular and ordinary use of that word.

The opinion of Canon Tristram that the ἀγριέλαιος is totally distinct from the oleaster of the ancients has been widely adopted by English writers; but there seems to be no authority for it. Several passages in Latin (for example, Virgil, *Georgics*, ii. 182) seem to demonstrate that the Oleaster was the *kotinos* or ordinary Wild-Olive; and in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. "Oil-tree," an argument is advanced about the corresponding tree in Hebrew, which seems to dispose entirely of the proposed identification with *Eleagnus angustifolia*, which is

<sup>1</sup> Theophrastus seems to use ἀγριος ἐλαία in this way. Pausani's, II. 32, 10, seems to distinguish three classes of Wild-Olive, *κότινος*, *φύλλα*, and *ἀγριέλαιος*; but the best authority on technical matters, Blumner, refuses to pronounce any opinion on the passage. Presumably, the second or the third term was used by Pausanias to indicate the ungrafted tree.

a mere bush and not a real tree. Dr. Post says (iii. 591), "The oleaster [which he assumes to be the *Eleagnus*] never grows large enough to furnish such a block of wood as was required for the image [ten cubits high, to be placed in the Holy of Holies]. It is also never used for house carpentry." These statements are doubtless quite true in the modern state of the country: Dr. Post is a thoroughly satisfactory authority for what comes in the range of his experience in the present time. But the Oleaster or Wild-Olive (Greek *κότινος*, *ἀγριέλαιος*) was far more widely used and more useful in ancient times. It grew sometimes then, and grows sometimes still, to be a stately tree, though generally it is only a bush ten to fourteen feet high. Professor Theobald Fischer, one of the leading authorities of the day, mentions that it grows in suitable circumstances to a height of fifty to seventy feet and forms large forests.

In this difficult subject, in regard to which I find hardly any statement made by any authority which is not flatly contradicted by some other equally great authority, I cannot hope to have avoided error. I have no botanical training; and when I was in Asia Minor, I had never any occasion to pay attention to Olive cultivation, but merely picked up by chance some information. I shall be grateful for correction and criticism.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*PAPIAS AND THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO THE  
HEBREWS.*

DISCOVERY itself is worthless without critical capacity to appreciate the treasure-trove. Fortunately we have in Professor F. C. Conybeare an explorer of the rich field of early Armenian church literature thoroughly capable of perceiving the bearing and value of his discoveries. And yet all human experience would be at fault if his estimates left nothing to be changed or added by others. What is here submitted proceeds from the conviction that the whole significance of Conybeare's famous Edschmiadzin codex has not yet been perceived, and that the discoverer himself has, in one respect, both overlooked and obscured it. Ten years having now passed since he exploited this text, with its remarkable attribution of Mark xvi. 9-20 to "the Elder Aristo," it will be expedient to quote some of the discoverer's conclusions which have special bearing on the question whether the Armenian scribe had access, directly or indirectly, to Papias, and whether, if so, he gives us any new knowledge of Papias' text. The conclusions we refer to are here quoted under the original numbering from Conybeare's article in the *EXPOSITOR* for 1895 (v. 2), p. 421:—

7. The episode of the woman taken in adultery [is] alone contained among old codices in the Edschmiadzin copy, but in a new form.

8. The episode translated from that copy [see below].

9. *Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews* [italics ours] probably gave it in the new form found in this MS.

10. Probabilities as to this new form of the text of Jn. viii. 1-11.

11. The Armenians excluded this pericope because they knew it was due to Papias, not to John; and excluded Mark xvi. 9-20 because they knew it was Aristion's, and not Mark's writing.

14. Bearing of the appearance in the same codex of the new form

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of John viii. 1-11, on the question of the origin of the title "Ariston Eritzu." They both came out of Papias.

17. Contrast between the new, or Edschmiadzin, and the old form of Jn. viii. 1-11.

18. Antiquity of both forms.

Conybeare's argument for the derivation of the new form of the pericope, and of the title "Ariston Eritzu" from Papias, has won wide assent, at least as regards the title,<sup>1</sup> since Papias' *Exegesis* (*Exegeses*?) is known to have survived by many centuries<sup>2</sup> the writing of the Edschmiadzin codex in 989 A.D. Whether the cancellations and other alleged evidences of removal from the primitive Armenian gospels of the pericope adulterae, appendix to Mark, "Western" addition Luke xxii. 43, 44, and the like, was due to use of Papias by these earlier authorities also, seems to us more than doubtful, since the phenomena adduced from Armenian texts are not different from the Greek texts,<sup>3</sup> and imply no more than a knowledge of the non-appearance of these sections in the standard authorities. Against it Burkitt rightly opposes "the absence of the *Pericope* both from the *Diatessaron* and from all early forms of the Four Gospels in Syriac." This, and the location of it by Conybeare's codex in the usual place, after John vii. 52, with the usual title given it by

<sup>1</sup> Burkitt, *Two Lectures on the Gospels*, p. 89 (see below), raises doubts against the derivation of the pericope text from Papias. For the views of Zahn and Resch see *Expositio*, iv. 10 (1894), pp. 219-232. Harnack also considers the title due to knowledge of Papias. The question may be here deferred.

<sup>2</sup> Harnack, *Gesch. d. altchr. Lit.*, i. 38, S. 69. To these evidences of the continued use of Papias down to the Reformation times add that cited by Conybeare (*ubi supra*) of the gloss "Aristion" written against the margin of Eus. iii. 89, 9, in the translation of Eufinus in a recent Bodleian manuscript. This gloss is a close parallel to the phenomenon of the title in the Edschmiadzin codex. Both evidence consultation of Papias. Similarly the Baroccianus extracts edited by de Boer. The question in the case of the Armenian scribe "John" his whether is data were at first hand or not.

<sup>3</sup> Burkitt, *ubi supra*, p. 88.

Armenian scribes, "the things of the adulteress," suggest for the peculiarities of this text the same explanation we are driven to apply to the gloss on the Bodleian Rufinus. The scribe's knowledge of Papias was an exceptional bit of special information for the airing of which he found welcome opportunity by prefixing to Mark xvi. 9 ff. the "Ariston Eritzu," and by giving "the things of the adulteress" in this new, and—to his mind—superior form.<sup>1</sup> If his knowledge of Papias may be assumed to be direct in the case of Mark xvi. 9 ff., we may infer it in John viii. 1 ff. also. It has at all events acquired immense importance.

Direct or indirect derivation of this text from Papias becomes probable when we compare it with the testimony of Eusebius as to what he read in Papias: for, while Eusebius does declare that the same anecdote was also contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, it is of Papias that he says ἐκτέθειται δὲ καὶ ἄλλην ἱστορίαν περὶ γυναῖκός ἐπὶ πολλαῖς ἁμαρτίαις διαβληθείσης ἐπὶ τοῦ κυρίου, and the difference of this description, "a woman taken in many sins, against whom they bore witness before the Lord," from the description in the pericope adulteræ in all known texts save D and 1071 (ἐπὶ ἁμαρτία) is so noticeable, that until the Edschmiadzin codex appeared critics no less eminent than Hilgenfeld wholly refused to admit the identity of the two. But place alongside the Eusebian description of Papias' anecdote of "a woman accused of many sins before the Lord" the form of the pericope adulteræ found in the Edschmiadzin codex, and a relation becomes very probable.

<sup>1</sup> See the photographic facsimile of the page containing Mark xvi. 9 ff. facing p. civ. of Swete's *Commentary on Mark*, together with Conybeare's statement (ibid.) that "the scribe adds the title *Ariston Eritzu* as it were by an afterthought." It presented in fact every appearance of an interlineated gloss. The title "the things of the adulteress" is added on the margin.

A certain woman was taken in sins (= malitiis), against whom, all bore witness that she was deserving of death. They brought her to Jesus to see what he would command, in order that they might malign him. Jesus made answer and said, "Come ye, who are without sin, cast stones and stone her to death (*lit.* βάλλετε λίθους και λιθοβολητον ποιείτε)." But he himself, bowing his head, was writing with his finger on the earth, to declare their sins, and they were seeing their several sins on the stones. And filled with shame they departed, and no one remained but only the woman. Saith Jesus, "Go in peace and present the offering for sins, as in their law is written."

The distinctive feature of this form is the explanation of the writing of Jesus on the earth by a reference to His preceding utterance ("ye who are without sin, take stones"; cf. "they were seeing their several sins on the stones"); in the rest of the story the author takes little interest. Echoes of this trait are found in uncial U, and some 20 lesser MSS. which after εἰς τὴν γῆν, in John viii. 8, add: ἐνὸς ἐκάστου αὐτῶν τὰς ἀμαρτίας, and in Jerome, who writes (*Pelag.*, 2, 17): "Jesus inclinans digito scribebat in terra, eorum videlicet qui accusabant et omnium peccata mortalium, secundum quod scriptum est in propheta (Jer. xvii. 13): *Relinquentes autem te in terra scribentur.*"<sup>1</sup> Professor C. R. Gregory, of Leipzig, quotes<sup>2</sup> also "an old manuscript," not otherwise defined, as changing verse 9 to "And they, when they read it, went out one by one." This, which Professor Gregory proceeds to fancifully expound, apparently as if historical, may be a further trace of the influence of the Edschmiadzin form of the story. If, however, this is simply syrhr: et illi cum soluti essent, the reading has no right to be considered ancient from its attestation, and bears every mark internally of being an explanatory substitution of ἀναγνόντες for ἀκούσαντες, to agree with v. 8. If there were independent

<sup>1</sup> Conybeare, ubi supra; cf. Tisch. N.T. ad. loc.

<sup>2</sup> *The Biblical World*, xii. 5 (Nov. 1898), pp. 803-806. H. B. Swete also somewhere in his *Commentary on Mark* refers to a MS. having a similar peculiarity.



ground for suspecting the lateness of the Edschmiadzin text, this reading might account for the whole edifice of the legendary addition regarding what Jesus wrote. It would be a simple development of the common addition καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς συνειδήσεως ἐλεγχόμενοι (cf. Edsch. "filled with shame." But Jerome and Bar Nebraeus, who draws a similar reading (Ipso vero inclinatus uniuscuiusque eorum peccata in terra scripsit) from an Alexandrine MS., show its great antiquity. From these meagre traces, however, we might never have known, but for Conybeare's discovery, that there was a version of the pericope corresponding to the Eusebian description.

Professor Burkitt brings forward, indeed, what he himself describes as a "verbose paraphrase" of the pericope, which had been adduced by Gwynn<sup>1</sup> from the Syriac *Ecclesiastical History* of Zacharias. This was taken, possibly in its present form, from "a copy of the Greek Gospels which belonged to Māra of Amid during his exile at Alexandria (517-527 A.D.)," but as it betrays no acquaintance with the distinctive feature of the Edschmiadzin text (Jesus wrote their sins), and describes the woman as "found with child of adultery," it is clearly independent of the Armenian, which, as Burkitt admits, "has a decidedly ancient air, much more so than that of Zacharias." Burkitt's text, accordingly, is of interest only as an example in the same category as Conybeare's, illustrating by its interjected comments (e.g. "for He knew, as God, their lusts of uncleanness and their doings"), its insistence on the great wickedness of the accusers, and its omission of the objectionable clause, "Neither do I condemn thee," the course likely to be taken in expository paraphrase. It presupposes the common text, as is the case at a much earlier date (250 A.D.) with the *Syriac Didaskalia*.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Trans. of R. Irish Acad.*, pp. 291 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *T. u. U. N. F.* x. 2, 1904, 88, 86.

" . . . that *sinful woman* whom the elders placed before him (Jesus) and went away leaving him to pronounce judgment. But he, *who searcheth hearts*, asked her and said to her, 'My daughter, did the elders condemn thee?' She answered him, 'No, Lord.' He said to her, 'Go; neither do I condemn thee.' "

For in spite of Professor Conybeare's favourable judgment, and the undeniable internal and external evidence of extreme antiquity, his newly discovered version bears no other relation to the ordinary text of the pericope adulteræ than just this of expository paraphrase with imaginative embellishment, the type termed by its Jewish exponents *midrash* and which Papias seems to render by ἐξήγησις. The Edschmiadzin text of the pericope adulteræ is a later moralizing interpretation of the well known Greek form and neither older nor independent.

Indeed, it is hard to understand how so clear-sighted a critic as Conybeare, unless somewhat under the glamour of his own great discovery, could write the sentence (p. 408), "The shorter text of the Edschmiadzin codex represents the form in which Papias and the *Hebrew Gospel* gave the episode. The longer form current (John viii. 1-11 T.R.) is the same story *edited, so to speak, for inclusion in the Greek Gospels* at some very remote epoch." Then the notorious stumbling-blocks of the longer form, the definition of the sin as "adultery" and the condonation, "Neither do I condemn thee," will have been introduced by the editors! And these amazing editors will have thought to make the story more acceptable for currency in the Greek Gospels by striking out the miraculous evidence of Jesus' insight (as καρδιογνωστῆς θεός) into the hearts of the wicked Jews! No one is better able than Professor Conybeare to appreciate upon maturer reflection that this is simply an inversion of the probabilities. Perhaps it may be the easier if it transpire that his discovery then obtains all the greater interest. True, the Edschmiadzin

text is shorter, but only by virtue of leaving out the nature and evidence of the woman's wrong-doing and the Lord's leniency. These were just the objectionable features to those who, according to Augustine,<sup>1</sup> "from a fear lest their wives should gain impunity in sin, removed from their manuscripts the Lord's act of indulgence to the adulteress." Also it inserts a parallel to Matthew viii. 4, whereas the longer form does not even indicate that the woman was repentant. But are *such* abbreviations and *such* change evidences of priority? And how significant are the additions! The writing on the ground, it is explained in an epexegetical supplement (cf. Jerome *videlicet*) to verse 6, was "to declare their sins; and they were seeing their several sins on the stones." Instead of the attitude toward the law so characteristic of Jesus in the authentic records (Mark x. 1-12 = Matt. xix. 1-9) there is an avoidance of any implied disparagement of its harshness and an inculcation of obedience to it, although superseded,<sup>2</sup> as in Matthew v. 18 f., viii. 14, xxiii. 1-3. We have no need to deny the "archaic" character of the Edschmiadzin text, and we admit that it may reflect Papias; but what can be more obvious, when it and the Greek form are placed side by side, than that the latter is the original, and the Armenian the form from which the stumblingblocks have been edited out, while edifying evidences of the divine omniscience of Jesus have been edited in? Then so much the worse for Papias.

Professor Conybeare is also convinced that the Armenian is the text of "the Hebrew Gospel." Why he thinks so is not apparent, unless he infers it from Jerome's acquaintance with the idea (*scribebat peccata eorum*) in which he finds a fulfilment of the scripture, "Relinquentes autem te in terra scribentur." We admit that "Jerome may have based his remark on the Gospel according to the Hebrews

<sup>1</sup> *Conj. adul.* ii. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Note the "Johannine" expression "written in *their* law."

which he had in his hands." But he also knew Papias; and if, as Zahn thinks, his knowledge of Papias was at second hand, his "scripture fulfilment" might come to him indirectly, as we find it in Uncial U, or possibly even by oral transmission from "the elders" themselves.

For if the Armenian form was that of both Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, to what origin can we assign the earlier and more authentic form of the Greek codices? Gospel sources containing material of so high a type historically and ethically are not numerous, nor are scribes disposed to make extracts of such length from non-canonical gospels. Special exception may have been made in favour of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, because a tradition at least as old as Jerome, perhaps as old as Papias, connected it with "the Hebrew Matthew."<sup>1</sup> It was quasi-canonical. And the Gospel according to the Hebrews, on the indisputable testimony of Eusebius, did contain the pericope adulterae. In this instance, however, if Professor Conybeare be right, Greek scribes with one consent forsook the comparatively unobjectionable form presented in common by two such great authorities as Papias and the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and chose in preference some unknown, uncanonical source, which gave the narrative in a form which *we* recognize to be finer and more historical, but which to medieval scribes would necessarily be much more obnoxious.

Again we must say, this is an inversion of logic. The preponderance of probabilities is immense in favour of the common form being derived from the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and that which has been newly discovered in a manuscript perhaps characterized elsewhere by the use of Papias, but is otherwise known only through rare and faint traces, should be the form given to the episode in the *Exegeses* of Papias. Once more let the testimony of Euse-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Matt. iii. 16, 17, *var. lect.*

bis to what he found there be compared with the Armenian and Greek versions respectively.

EUSEBIUS, "HIST. ECCL." III. 39.

He (Papias) sets forth another story about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord (a story) which the Gospel according to the Hebrews also contains.

EDSCHMIADZIN CODEX.

GREEK (FROM TEXT OF  
VON SODEN).

A certain woman was taken  
in sins

against whom all bore witness  
that she was deserving of death.  
They brought her to Jesus  
(to see) what he would command,

in order that  
they might malign him. But  
he himself, bowing his head,  
was writing with his finger on  
the earth, to declare their sins;  
and they were seeing their  
several sins on the stones.

And filled with  
shame they departed

and  
no one remained but only the  
woman.

Saith Jesus

Go in peace,  
and present the offering for sins,  
as in their law is written.

The chief priests and Pharisees  
bring to him a woman taken in  
adultery, and setting her in the  
midst they say to him, Teacher,  
this woman was caught in adult-  
tery, in the very act. Now  
Moses in the law commandeth  
to stone such; what then dost  
thou say? But they were saying  
this to tempt him, that they  
might have an accusation against  
him. And Jesus, stooping down,  
wrote with his finger on the  
ground;

but  
as they still continued asking  
him he sat erect and said to  
them, Let him that is sinless  
among you be first to cast a  
stone at her. And stooping  
down again he wrote upon the  
ground. And when they heard  
it they departed each severally,  
beginning with those who  
were older; and he was left  
alone and the woman standing  
in the midst. And looking up  
Jesus said to the woman, Where  
are they? Doth no man condemn  
thee? And she said, No man,  
Lord. And Jesus said, Neither  
do I condemn thee,

Go,  
sin no more.

There would be more room for question as to the derivation of the Greek version from the Gospel according to the Hebrews if the authorities which contain it appeared to draw from a variety of sources; but such is not the case. We owe to the well-nigh incredible minuteness and patience in research of von Soden<sup>1</sup> an inquiry into the textual history of the pericope adulterae which stands alone in all the annals of this science for exhaustiveness. Von Soden's conclusion is ungainsayable: the pericope<sup>2</sup> with all its multitudinous variants, more exposed as it has been to textual corruption than any other part of the New Testament, is certainly derived from a single Urtypus, the form above given in translation. The variants, some of them paralleling the Edschmiadzin text, have entered by corruption. To argue for its textual antiquity is needless, because no mere second century gospel tradition has anything comparable with the purity, the power, the ring of authenticity that pervade this simple and touching story, so unimpeachably true to the very life and spirit of Jesus. Even the Edschmiadzin text, as already shown, exhibits a long step of degeneration toward the second-century controversial and apologetico-doctrinal standpoint. It is not the story, but a *midrash* based upon it.

We know the story was contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews, and we have no reason to suppose it was found anywhere else, except in derived forms. Indeed the silence of Eusebius rather implies that he had no knowledge of it elsewhere. We know for what special reason the Gospel according to the Hebrews was treated by scribes and glossators with unique regard, as quasi-canonical, and we now have reason to think that even the later paraphrases of Papias, the *Syriac Didaskalia* and Zacharias were based upon the single common original. All this may

<sup>1</sup> *Schriften des neuen Testaments*, i. 49-58.

<sup>2</sup> Op. cit. S. 500.

not establish more than a probability that the Greek version of the story comes from the Gospel according to the Hebrews; but it certainly puts the burden of proof on him who would assign to it any other derivation; and, moreover, we are not entirely without evidence to carry back still further the use of this as the common original.

The opening words of the pericope (John vii. 53-viii. 2 are as follows: *Καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἐπορεύθη εἰς τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἐλαιῶν. Ὁρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν.* These introductory words, which thus far have been left out of consideration, show that the pericope belonged originally to a consecutive account of the final week of teaching in the temple closely kindred to the Synoptic section Mark xi. xii. and parallels. In particular "The Mount of Olives," as Jesus' lodging-place, connects it closely with the special source of Luke (Luke xxii. 39 *κατὰ τὸ ἔθος*; cf. Mark xi. 11, xiv. 3 *Βηθανία*). Still more remarkable is the expression *ὄρθρου δὲ πάλιν παρεγένετο εἰς τὸ ἱερόν*, to which the common text adds *καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἤρχετο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ καθίσας ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς* (cf. Matt. v. 1, xiii. 1-3, 48, and Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, S. 17). It is the equivalent of the Hebrew *וַיָּשָׁם* "and . . . rose up early in the morning and . . ." (LXX. *καὶ ὄρθρισεν καὶ*) so frequent in Old Testament narrative, in particular a stereotyped formula of document E of the historical books.<sup>1</sup> Curiously the formula occurs in but a single New Testament writer, Luke xxi. 38, xxiv. 1-22, Acts v. 21. In Luke xxi. 38 the context is so important that we must quote the whole: *Ἦν δὲ (sc. Ἰησοῦς) τὰς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διδάσκων, τὰς δὲ νύκτας ἐξερχόμενος πηλίζετο εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ καλούμενον ἐλαιῶν καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὄρθριζεν<sup>2</sup> πρὸς αὐτόν ἐν*

<sup>1</sup> Thirty-three occurrences in the historical books. Elsewhere only Job i. 5, Isa. v. 11 and Zeph. iii. 7.

<sup>2</sup> With this Old Testament expression compare that of the pericope 'returned every man to his place' similarly employed in Gen. xxxi. 85 Num. xxiv. 25, Jud. vii. 7, ix. 55, xix. 28, 1 Sam. xiv. 46, xxvi. 25, xxix. 4,

τῇ ἱερῇ ἀκούειν αὐτοῦ. This is obviously nothing else than an equivalent for the introductory words descriptive of the scene which preface the pericope adulteræ in the Greek form. After them we naturally expect some example of how Jesus taught the people in the temple ; but we are disappointed, for our evangelist utilizes them merely to effect the change of scene, and proceeds immediately with another subject—the betrayal.<sup>1</sup> Once more comparison in parallel columns will suggest to a critical and impartial scrutiny a real literary dependence, *but on the side of Luke*.

JOHN VII. 53–VIII. 2.

And they went every man to his place, but *Jesus went to the Mount of Olives*; and *rising up early in the morning* he came again into the temple [and all the people would come unto him and he would sit down and teach them].

LUKE XXI. 37–38.

Now during the days he was in the temple teaching, but for the nights he was wont to go forth and *make his lodging on the mount called (Mount) of Olives*.<sup>2</sup> And all the people *rose up early in the morning* unto him in the temple to hear him:

It is just because Luke xxi. 37–38 so manifestly duplicates John vii. 53–viii. 2 that textual critics with one accord scout the idea of locating the pericope where the group of manuscripts designated the Ferrar group locate it, at the end of Luke xxi. And justly, for unless we misinterpret the evidences of literary dependence these two verses *were written for the very purpose of taking the place of the pericope*, while preserving its (supposed) representation (so different from Mark's) of Jesus' (habitual) lodging at night on the Mount of Olives.<sup>3</sup> In other words, our third evangelist had

2 Sam. xv. 19, xix. 89, 1 Kings xx. 24, Job ii. 11, and note that the only New Testament equivalent is Acts i. 25.

<sup>1</sup> The nature of the eschatological discourse, Lk. xxi. 5–36, is such that it cannot be uttered under the circumstances of verse 37. Mark, we observe, places it "on the Mount of Olives over against the temple." The true place of xxi. 37 would therefore be adjoining the incident Mk. xii: 41–44, Lk. xxi. 1–4; cf. Jn. viii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Lk. xix. 29, Acts i. 12, ὄρους τοῦ καλουμένου ἑλαιῶνος, against Mt. Mk τὸ ὄρος τῶν ἑλαιῶν.

<sup>3</sup> See Bacon, *Introd.* p. 214 note. The idea of Luke (xxii. 89) that Jesus



before him the pericope in its Greek form (ἐπορ. ἐκ. εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ, δρθρου δὲ πάλιν), but for the same reasons as were urged in later times against the story, dropped it out, retaining only the feature of Jesus' (nightly) lodging on the Mount of Olives (and daily teaching in the temple ?) because it seemed to him to explain the arrest in Gethsemane which he proceeds to relate (xxii. 39 κατὰ τὸ ἔθος).

But the Ferrar manuscripts do not locate the pericope after Luke xxi. 38 because some scribe had detected subtle affinities of style with this verse, but because of some authority. Notoriously the pericope has no affinity with the Fourth Gospel. Its connexions are synoptic. Its location in John, either somewhere in the context from vii. 36 to viii. 20, or appended to the close of the Gospel,<sup>1</sup> which is the common location, may be accounted for, with Conybeare, as due to the influence of Papias, who perhaps gave the story among his *paradoxa* of "the Elder John"; or, as Blass thinks, its connexion with John may only signify that it was first attached as an appendix at the end of the Gospel canon. But compare the tender pathos of this priceless jewel of gospel tradition with the character and animus of the so-called special source of Luke<sup>2</sup>; recall the Publican and Pharisee, Zacchaeus the Publican, the Good Samaritan and Samaritan Leper, the Woman that ministered (the Widow casting into the temple treasury),<sup>3</sup> the

made Gethsemane his lodging throughout the Passover week is a misunderstanding in the line of ix. 57-58, apparently based on Jn. vii. 53-viii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Blass, *Philology of the Gospels*, p. 156. This special place in the Gospel of "John" may have been chosen, as usually assumed, because of Jn. viii. 15 f. It would seem equally probable that it was suggested by viii. 28, especially if in the source it was connected with the scene at "the treasury."

<sup>2</sup> On the humanitarian animus of Luke's special source see Bacon, *Introd. to N.T.*, pp. 219, 220.

<sup>3</sup> This incident is indeed taken up by canonical Mark as a kind of note on the phrase xii. 40, "they devour widows' houses," but it has no real relation to the context, constitutes almost the only incident of Mark not

Penitent Thief, and, above all, the Woman that was a Sinner, or better; the whole paragraph by which this evangelist in Luke vii. 36-viii. 3 illuminates the saying (vii. 34-5), "Ye say, behold a gluttonous man and a wine-bibber, a friend of publicans and sinners, but Wisdom is justified of her children." Who that recalls the characteristics of this material found only in Luke can reject the verdict of Blass<sup>1</sup> that "the place in Luke's Gospel claimed by the section in question (according to the Ferrariani) really seems to have been its original place," even if by "original" we mean something more remote than canonical Luke?

Doubtless it would be precipitate to identify this special source out of hand with the Gospel according to the Hebrews as known to Eusebius and Jerome. Some allowance must be made for three centuries of degeneration, change, accretion, in a gospel unprotected by canonical standing, and some also for the improvements of such a skilled writer as Luke. But H. J. Holtzmann will not be called precipitate, and a reference to his *Einleitung*<sup>2</sup>, S. 102 and 441 will show no small amount of evidence for an exceptional dependence of our third and fourth evangelists on "the Gospel according to the Hebrews."<sup>3</sup>

known to canonical Matthew, and in all its affinities reminds us of the special source of Luke. I am compelled, therefore, to regard it as a secondary element.

<sup>1</sup> Ubi supra, p. 159.

<sup>2</sup> To the characteristics of Luke's special source found by Holtzmann in the Gospel according to the Hebrews we would add the following features of style: (1) A son (daughter) of Abraham as ground of compassion, Lk. xiii. 16, xix. 9; cf. *Ev. Hebr.* "fratres tui, filii Abraham, amicti sunt," etc. (2) "Jesus" in address (according to Zahn "unheard of in the Gospels") Lk. xxiii. 42; cf. *Ev. Hebr.* "precor te, Jesu, ut mihi restituas," etc. (3) "The Lord" of Jesus in narrative is regular in *Ev. Hebr.* Luke alone of our synoptists employs it, freely, but almost always in the sections drawn from the special source. (4) *καὶ ἐγένετο* (יָהִי) is a Semiticism specially characteristic of Luke (see Dalman, *Worte Jesu*, S. 25); cf. *Ev. Hebr.*: "*Factum est autem cum ascendisset dominus*," etc. On the characteristics of Luke's special source see Bacon, *Introd. to N.T.* p. 213, note 1, and compare the note on the survivals of pre-canonical literature in the "Western" text on p. 220. As an example of how Luke might improve

The Ferrariani location of the pericope adulteræ has no more reasonable explanation than a knowledge direct or indirect of its place in the pre-canonical gospel from which they derive it; just as the other authorities which attach it to "John," either somewhere about the close of chap. vii., or at the end of the Gospel, are possibly influenced by finding the "exegesis" of it attributed by Papias to "John," but certainly not by its source. The location of the Ferrariani and the text of the Edschmiadzin codex are isolated phenomena each of which perhaps points to a source of special knowledge in the hands of the scribe ultimately responsible. In the case of the Edschmiadzin codex there is some reason to think of the *Exegeses* of Papias. In the case of the Ferrariani is it unreasonable to think of Jerome's translations of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, since it was only in the west that it crept into the canonical text?

If then the recently discovered Armenian version of the pericope adulteræ, and the well known Greek form bear this relation to one another, it is high time to cease speaking as if the story which Papias "set forth about a woman accused of many sins before the Lord" were verbally identical with that contained in the Gospel according to the Hebrews. On the contrary, while we cannot say that our Greek text is certainly that of this extra-canonical source, we may be sure that it is older than the Edschmiadzin version, and in fact bears to it the relation of text to commentary. We may consider it highly probable that it represents, if not Jerome's ipsum Hebraicum, at least the pre-Lucan form which had found embodiment in the time of Eusebius and Jerome in that noteworthy source. To imagine another and divergent form of the story is gratuitous.

on his source, compare Luke xiv. 7-11 with the version of this parable added by "Western" scribes from an extra-canonical source after Matt. xx. 28.

The corollaries of this conclusion are not unimportant. (1) If the Edschmiadzin text represents Papias' modification of the pericope adulteræ from the Greek type, as Eusebius' language suggests, and the Greek type is that of the Gospel according to the Hebrews, or its pre-Lucan ancestor, it follows that in the region whence Papias derived his exegeses and traditions the Gospel according to the Hebrews was current, whereas it was not current in his own, else he would not re-narrate the story with the modifications he allows himself. The bearing of this point on the question of the domicile of Papias' "elders," in particular "the Elder John," is so obvious that all that is here required is a reference to a recent article<sup>1</sup> aimed to show that this group of apostles, elders, and witnesses who perpetuate the apostolic gospel tradition, is that of Luke, of Hegesippus, of all the earliest writers, namely, the Palestinian mother-church.

(2) If Conybeare's text really represents Papias, by whatever road it found its way into the hands of a tenth century Armenian scribe, the contrast of text and paraphrase will be highly instructive regarding the character and historical value, and indirectly the date, of Papias' traditions and exegeses. If he, or his informants, of whom Aristo and John the Elder were chief, improved upon the Gospel according to the Hebrews by such midrashic additions as "to declare their sins, and they were seeing their several sins on the stones," such smoothing of difficulties as the removal of the nature and evidence of the woman's sin and substitution of the Mosaic ritual of the penitent for the hard saying, "Neither do I condemn thee," Eusebius was right in his imputation to Papias of a certain credulousness. The miraculous writing may be classed with the other *μυθικώτερα* of which Eusebius cites examples. That Papias followed Palestinian authorities may well be granted him, but the new evidence certainly

<sup>1</sup> "The Johannine Problem, II." *Hilbert Journal*, ii, 2, Jan. 1904.

does not favour an early date, nor a close relation to any apostle, nor a higher rank as a historical authority than some removes below the Gospel according to the Hebrews. The evidence of the title Ariston Eritzou must be discussed hereafter.

B. W. BACON.

### WELLHAUSEN.<sup>1</sup>

THE name of Wellhausen is well known to English readers as that of the foremost representative of the dominant school of Old Testament criticism. Since the publication of his *History of Israel*, vol. i., in 1878, he has rightly occupied that place. But this is only one side of his remarkable personality and work. He is without question the greatest living force in the whole field of Old Testament scholarship. He has also done work of the first importance in the near-lying fields of Arabic history and religion, and—especially of late years—the origins of Christianity. In all these departments his finest work is constructive, and is marked by rare insight into the movements of the religious spirit. Wellhausen himself is anything but the cold dry critic of popular imagination. He is a man of deep religious feeling, who finds in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments a real revelation from the living God, and whose studies are all inspired by that faith.

Julius Wellhausen was born May 17, 1844, in the picturesque old town of Hameln on the Weser, where his father was pastor. He received his early education in his native town, and afterwards for a few years in Hanover.

<sup>1</sup> I wish to express my obligation to Professor Wellhausen for the kind interest he has taken in the preparation of these articles. To him I am indebted for the more personal details I have been able to introduce, as well as for the use of his early *Dissertation*. He has also read the manuscript, and approved my presentation of his aims and work as just. I should like also to express my indebtedness to Professor Duff, Bradford, for friendly counsel and help.

Then, in the spring of 1862, he entered Göttingen as a student of theology. The theological faculty of that time was somewhat colourless, and the young student found no inspiration there. Even Ritschl, who joined the faculty in 1864, and who exercised so strong an influence on the younger theologians of Germany, failed to win him. He was impressed by his personality and spiritual force; but his dogmatics (he says) "left me cold." The man to whom he owed his intellectual awakening, and to whom he refers as his "unforgotten teacher," was Ewald, the renowned Orientalist and historian of Israel. Ewald was then past the meridian splendour of his fame, but he was still the "teacher without a peer" (*der Lehrer ohne Gleichen*), possessed of the finest insight into the spirit of the Old Testament, and with the subtle power of enthusing his students with his own love for Israel's prophets and poets. Under his inspiration Wellhausen found his true bent, and devoted himself to the study of Semitic languages, and to the history and religion of Israel. As a student, he was also strongly influenced by Lotze, the most distinguished ornament of the philosophical faculty of Göttingen, who found in a thorough-going application of scientific principles the sure basis for his serene faith in God as the personal Spirit immanent in all things, and his lofty teleological view of the universe and man. At a somewhat later date he came under the influence also of Carlyle, whose *Sartor Resartus* was one of the books which most inspired him.

In 1868 Wellhausen began his professorial career as *Repetent* (University tutor) in his *alma mater*. Two years later he became *Privat-docent* (lecturer). The thesis he submitted for licence was the Dissertation *De Gentibus et Familiis Judæis quæ 1 Chr. ii. iv. enumerantur*. This slim essay of forty-one pages on what seems so forbidding a subject, is a fitting introduction to Wellhausen's literary activity. It exhibits the same clearness and sanity of

critical judgment, combined with a just sense of historical fact, which distinguishes all his work. He sees in these chapters no *mera nomina, quae nihil narrent quod scire cupiamus, nihil sibi elici patiantur quod nostra referat*. They are rather like names on tombstones, or dry bones, which when put together, "bone to his bone," and clothed in imagination with flesh and blood, recall the life of other days. Wellhausen shows rare skill, both in the arrangement and in the imaginative clothing of the "bones." He notes at the outset that the names are those, not of individuals (though some may originally be personal names), but of tribes, families, and guilds, and some even of cities, districts, and mountains. He argues accordingly that the relationships described in terms of marriage and sonship are really those of the communities or clans in question. Following lines already laid down by Ewald, he sets forth the general principles of a true interpretation. Thus the bond of brotherhood implies near relation, and the marriage tie the union, of families. Or if the name of the wife be that of a region or city, marriage implies the settlement of the clan in that particular place. A second marriage suggests a change of residence (e.g., ii. 18 ff.; 25 f.). Further study of the genealogies betrays the fact of variants, and a comparison with other books of the Bible shows that the conditions implied are partly pre-exilic, and partly post-exilic. Thus arranging the "dry bones" in order, he is able—apart from suggestive sidelights—to sketch an interesting piece of Jewish history, the wanderings and settlements of the Calebite and Jerahmeelite families, from the period when they emerged as nomads from the desert to win an inheritance in the Negeb of Judah, until they gradually attained to the hegemony of the whole tribe, and down to the time when they returned from the exile to find new settlements in the hill country of Ephraim.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen's principles of interpretation, as well as his general

I cannot refrain from quoting the last paragraph of this interesting brochure : *Atque haec quidem hactenus. Putaverit quis parturisse montes, nasci ridiculum murem. Me si quidem mus evenerit, exercuisse montes non taedebit. Si vero cui videor nimis audacter disputasse, equidem citius ex errore quam ex confusione emergit veritas.* These words are thoroughly characteristic of Wellhausen, and indeed of every true scholar.

The young *Privat-docent* had thus given proof of his powers. The following year he greatly enhanced his reputation by his brilliant study of the *Text der Bücher Samuelis*. This work he modestly introduces as but "a contribution to some future critical edition of the Old Testament." In reality it marks a distinct epoch in textual criticism.<sup>1</sup> In the introduction, Wellhausen lays down "once for all" (as Davidson says) "the principles according to which the Greek or any version can be rightly used in textual criticism." De Lagarde had already insisted that we cannot accept the LXX., as it stands, for critical purposes ; we must attempt to reach the original form of the text ; and to this end we must compare, as far as practicable, the different MSS., the variant Greek translations, with the Peschito and the Vulgate, and the quotations from the Fathers. He had also laid down the general canons of criticism : that we must proceed eclectically, inasmuch as the translators were eclectic in their methods, but that as a rule we should accept a free translation in preference to one slavishly literal, and a rendering which implies a variant from the Massoretic text, in preference to

results, are accepted by subsequent scholars. Cf. the *Comms.* by Kittel and Benzinger, and the arts. by E. L. Curtis in the *Dict. Bib.*, and S. A. Cook in the *Encyc. Bib.* Thus, within its own limits, this early Dissertation is as "epoch-making" as the later works.

<sup>1</sup> In the introduction to his *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Driver refers to Wellhausen's *Text* as "an unpretending but epoch-making work." Davidson homologates this judgment (*Theol. Rev.* Apr. 1890, p. 263).



one directly derived from that text, as the most probable representative of the original.<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen starts from de Lagarde's principles, but he carries them out with a breadth, force and thoroughness all his own. In particular he insists on an accurate knowledge of the relations—the genealogical descent, as it were—of the various Recensions and Manuscripts, and the origin and history of their variant readings; on a true appreciation of their “style of translation,” not only in general, but also in the different books, and observance of the errors into which they are liable, whether by chance or design, to fall; and on an accurate knowledge both of Hebrew and of Jewish-Greek. Very often, when the original form of the Greek translation has been thus ascertained, the true Hebrew text in dispute will appear. If not, recourse must be had to conjectural emendation. Wellhausen strongly condemns haphazard and unmethodical conjectures. The true critic must exercise great judgment, and his emendations must proceed from a mind thoroughly at home in Hebrew and Semitic style. Literary appreciation and sound historical sense must likewise go hand in hand with textual criticism.

Of course, these are “counsels of perfection.” But in criticism, as in all else, a high ideal is the only way to success. In the body of the book Wellhausen gives a really brilliant illustration of his method. His criticism of the text of Samuel shows a judgment as fine as his scholarship, and a conjectural power as remarkable as his care in the collation of variant readings.<sup>2</sup> As the result, he has enriched Old Testament scholarship by a series of most “successful and happy emendations” (Davidson).<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> V. his *Anmerkungen zur Griechischen Uebersetzung der Proverben*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> As examples of Wellhausen's conjectural power, we may cite his emendations in 2 Sam. xiii. 84 and 89, xv. 28, and xxiv. 5 f., which were afterwards “brilliantly confirmed” (Driver) by the readings found in Lucian's Recension of the LXX.

<sup>3</sup> Driver's admirable *Text of Samuel* will give the English reader the

The author of the *Text of Samuel* must have appeared to de Lagarde "a man after his own heart." If any one scholar was adequate to the task of elaborating a new critical edition of the Old Testament text, this surely was the man. But Wellhausen's chief interest was not in textual studies. He refers to these as but seed sown. The fruit he looked for was the better understanding of the Old Testament as a revelation of the truth of God. And all his studies in textual and historical criticism were means to this end.

Wellhausen had now made his mark in the theological world, and in 1872 he was called to the chair of Old Testament literature in Greifswald. He threw himself with characteristic zeal into his new work, "winning golden opinions by the modesty, vivacity and friendliness of his demeanour, and by the marked ability of his lectures."<sup>1</sup> His college work put a temporary check on his literary activity. But the conferring of the degree of *summi in theologia honores*, with which his old University "surprised" him, called forth—as a *Δόσις ὀλίγη* by way of thanks—perhaps the most interesting and important of his minor works, the monograph on *Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer* (Greifs., 1874). In this treatise Wellhausen gave the first real evidence of his great powers as a writer of religious history. Here we find the wide learning and accurate scholarship,<sup>2</sup> the incisive, but sane and well-

best idea of the importance of Wellhausen's work. Driver offers the following plea for what may appear an excessive dependence on Wellhausen: "I could not withhold from English scholars some of the best and soundest results which have been gained for the textual criticism of the Old Testament." The latest German commentators, Nowack and Budde, draw almost as freely from the same source.

<sup>1</sup> Curtiss, art. on "Wellhausen's Theory of the Pentateuch," *Expositor*, 3rd Series, vol. iii. p. 81.

<sup>2</sup> A notable example of Wellhausen's scholarship is found in the translation (with introduction and critical notes) of the *Psalter of Solomon*, which he introduces as an appendix to this book. Wellhausen's general results, as to date etc., are accepted by all subsequent editors of the *Psalter*.

balanced criticism,<sup>1</sup> the delicate spiritual perception and the broad historical construction, which are so characteristic of his later and greater works—already couched in that wonderfully lucid, vigorous and nervous style which is the envy and despair of German theological writers.<sup>2</sup>

Wellhausen does full justice to the nobler side of the Pharisees' character. They were really religious men, who kept alive the fire of religious enthusiasm through ages of spiritual declension. They believed in God, and sought His righteousness as their chief end in life. Their ambition was to bring the whole of life within the religious domain; and they sought to realize this ideal both day and night.<sup>3</sup> Thus, in spite of the contrast in method, Wellhausen pertinently observes, Pharisaism and Christianity were really one in spiritual outlook, motive and aim. "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God and His righteousness" was as truly the Pharisaic ideal as the Christian. The other side—"die Schattenseite"—of the Pharisaic character is drawn with vivid and impressive strokes. "While the practice of piety was never pursued with greater zeal, the bane of intellectualism never dominated that practice more fatally." "Under its wretched yoke the most sincere and earnest piety was crushed." "The mass of derived material choked the spring; the 613 commandments of the written law, and the thousand other of the unwritten, left no room for conscience.

<sup>1</sup> Those who regard Wellhausen as essentially a destructive critic should study his vigorous defence of the historical value of the New Testament and Josephus as contrasted with the falsified and prejudiced traditions of the Talmud, on which Hausrath and other scholars had chiefly relied (v. pp. 42 f. 121 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> This style, with its "hatred of conventional phraseology, and love of simplicity and directness," Wellhausen says he possessed from childhood; he adds: "I grew up in association with very simple and very realistic people."

<sup>3</sup> Wellhausen describes the Pharisees roundly as "the party of the scribes." This is perhaps too absolute. But he is right in emphasizing the spiritual kinship of scribes and Pharisees. The former were the students of the law ("*die lehrenden vomukoi*"), the latter the practical devotees of the law ("*die wandelnden vomukoi*").

The sum-total of the means became the end. In their devotion to the law men forgot God, and in their attention to the etiquette which surrounded approach (*προσγωγή*) to God they forgot to approach Him." Thus Pharisaism became no better than "moral and religious materialism," while with many it developed that spirit of overweening pride and hypocrisy on which Jesus poured out His vials of wrath.

Wellhausen also rightly characterizes the opposition of Pharisees and Sadducees as one, not of official prerogative, but of practical views, principles and tendencies of life. Officially, the Sadducees were the party of the High-priests,<sup>1</sup> and as such should have been actuated by the same religious zeal as the Pharisees. But they had become immersed in the strife of worldly politics, and cared not really for the sacred duties of their vocation as priests, but for their worldly position and influence as aristocrats and rulers. Thus, while the Pharisees represented the Law, the Sadducees—in spite of their office—were worldlings in temper, ambition and practice.

This opposition in "practical philosophy" Wellhausen explains by the view, which he takes up and champions with characteristic force and learning, that the first Sadducees were no other than the adherents of Judas Maccabaeus and his brothers, towards whom the spiritual ancestors of the Pharisees—the Asidaeans—maintained from the first an independent, and afterwards a hostile, attitude.<sup>2</sup> In the early stages of the war of independence,

<sup>1</sup> Following Geiger, Wellhausen derives the name from Zadok, the high-priest of Solomon's reign. This view has received much support since then, and still appears the most plausible.

<sup>2</sup> The prevalent view, represented by Schürer (e.g.), is that the Sadducees were the direct descendants of the old Hellenizing Zadokite party, who were indifferent to the Maccabees and their cause (though at a later date they won them over to their side), while the Asidaeans were the real "heroes" of the struggle. This view finds its chief support in 2 Macc. xiv.—an authority, however, of quite secondary rank. Wellhausen's view

when the purity of the law and the worship of God was the battle-cry, the Asidaeans were ardent supporters of the Maccabees, though even then they were a separate party (*συναγωγή*). But when the cause they had at heart prevailed, when the temple of God was purged, and His worship restored, and above all when the conquerors usurped the priesthood, and prostituted the sacred office by using it to further their own worldly ends, the Asidaeans set themselves in deliberate opposition against them. This came to light first when they supported the claims of Alcimus ("a priest of the seed of Aaron") to the high-priesthood, as against the pretensions of the new rulers. And the more worldly the character assumed by the Maccabaeon priest-kingdom, the more resolute and persistent grew their opposition. In this Wellhausen finds the real root of bitterness between the Pharisees and the Sadducees. The Pharisees were the strictly religious party, proud in their devotion to their heavenly King, and seeking first His kingdom. The Sadducees were the pillars of the new Maccabaeon, or Hasmonaeon, State, as proud in their allegiance to their earthly king, and seeking first the glory of that kingdom. From this fundamental opposition in principle Wellhausen traces all the other differences which separated the two parties so sharply; here, too, he finds the key which explains their divergent policy during all the strange vicissitudes which marked the last tragic years of Jewish history.

In this monograph we have an interesting sign that Wellhausen's mind already turned, not on trivial details of scholarship, but on cardinal questions of faith and life. In this light, the book is a suggestive forecast of his latest

is supported by the much higher authority of 1 Macc. ii. 42, which clearly implies the independence of the Asidaeans ("then came to them the *συναγωγή* 'Ασιδαίων, who were mighty men of Israel, even all such as were voluntarily devoted to the law"), and 1 Macc. vii. 12 f., which tells of their passing from the side of the Maccabees to support the claims of Alcimus.

studies on the origins of Christianity. For a worthy treatment of these themes, however, the time was not yet come. Wellhausen had first to lay deep and strong foundations. And the chief fruit of his Greifswald period is the series of epoch-making works on "higher criticism."

The problem of the Hexateuch had already engaged the attention of scholars for upwards of a century. From the time of Astruc (1753) the distinction between Elohist and Jehovist had been recognized. In 1853 Hupfeld distinguished three sources, two Elohist and the Jahvist (P, E and J). Meanwhile, in 1806, de Wette had given the key to the historical solution of the problem by his demonstration that the law-book discovered in the reign of Josiah was no other than the Book of Deuteronomy. But the historical sequence of the documents was almost universally regarded as P, JE, D. P. was the *Grund-schrift*, a work dating from about the time of Saul, and embodying much historical matter, with laws which were mainly Mosaic; this was expanded by the Jehovist about the time of David, and finally edited by the Deuteronomist between the reigns of Hezekiah and Josiah. To that view the most influential teachers, notably Ewald and Bleek, gave the whole weight of their authority. Only a few scholars, the forerunners being Vatke and George, followed by Reuss, with his distinguished pupil Graf, and Kuenen, of Leyden, dared to broach the "heresy" of the post-exilic date of P.

From his student days in Göttingen, Wellhausen had been exercised with the problem; and his mind turned almost instinctively towards the new "heresy." In the singularly interesting piece of mental history which he introduces in the Introduction to the *Prolegomena* he tells us:

In my early student days I was attracted by the stories of Saul and David, Ahab and Elijah; the discourses of Amos and Isaiah laid

strong hold on me, and I read myself well into the prophetic and historical books of the Old Testament. Thanks to such aids as were accessible to me, I even considered that I understood them tolerably; but at the same time I was troubled with a bad conscience, as though I were beginning with the roof instead of the foundation; for I had no thorough acquaintance with the Law, which, I was accustomed to be told, was the basis and postulate of the whole literature. At last I took courage and made my way through Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and even through Knobel's *Commentary* to these books. But it was in vain that I looked for the light which was to be shed from this source on the historical and prophetic books. On the contrary, my enjoyment of the latter was marred by the Law; it did not bring them any nearer me, but intruded itself uneasily, like a ghost that makes a noise indeed, but is not visible and really effects nothing. Even where there were points of contact between it and them, differences also made themselves felt, and I found it impossible to give a candid decision in favour of the priority of the Law. Dimly I began to perceive that throughout there was between them all the difference that separates two wholly distinct worlds. Yet, so far from attaining clear conceptions, I only fell into deeper confusion, which was worse confounded by the explanations of Ewald in the second volume of his *History of Israel*. At last, in the course of a casual visit to Göttingen in the summer of 1867, I learned through Ritschl that Karl Heinrich Graf placed the Law later than the Prophets, and, almost without knowing his reasons for the hypothesis, I was prepared to accept it; I readily acknowledged to myself the possibility of understanding Hebrew antiquity without the book of the Torah." (*E. T.*, p. 3 f.)

During his first few years at Greifswald, he gave much of his time and strength to the subject of Hexateuchal criticism. His studies thoroughly confirmed him in his impression of the later date of the Priestly Code. At last, in 1876, he began to publish his results. The first-fruits of his studies were the famous articles in the *Jahrbücher für Deutsche Theologie* (1876-77) on the *Composition des Hexateuchs*.<sup>1</sup> In these articles Wellhausen

<sup>1</sup> These articles were afterwards combined with the chapters on Judges, etc., in Bleek's *Einleitung* to form the volume: *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* (1st edit. 1885). This volume is dedicated to William Robertson Smith, with whom Wellhausen had formed a warm friendship.

applied the critical knife to the analysis of the text, dividing between J, E, D and P with an incisive keenness and skill, and a reasoned judgment, which raised them at once to the rank of "standard work" on the subject. But the epoch-making importance of the articles lay in the decision with which the author placed himself on the side of the Grafian "heresy." Even from a comparison of the documents in themselves, he argued that J and E were early sources, containing the primitive traditions of the people of Israel, while the Priestly Code (which he labelled Q) was a late—post-exilic—and highly artificial production. The main ground for this position he stated in succinct form in his revised (the 4th) edition of Bleek's *Einleitung* (Feb. 1878): "The decision of the question rests on this, that JE *knows nothing* of unity of worship, Deuteronomy *postulates* it as a new institution that had not hitherto existed, while PC *presupposes* it as having existed and been developed to its fullest consequences, as a matter of course, from the very beginning." (p. 178.)

In this new edition of Bleek, Wellhausen carried his critical studies through the historical books of Judges, Samuel and Kings, discriminating with the same thoroughness and skill between the original sources and the later Deuteronomic frame-work, and thus laying the foundations for all future criticism of these books.<sup>1</sup>

The impression which these first studies produced was confined, of course, to the circle of Old Testament special-

<sup>1</sup> The introduction of these chapters into the work of the older scholar gives them rather the appearance of "the new patch on the old garment." Their effect is more impressive, therefore, when combined with the kindred work of Wellhausen on the Hexateuch. Yet one misses the chapters on the Canon and Text (in which the editor develops the principles he had laid down in his early monograph on the *Text of Samuel*), and especially the sketch of Old Testament scholarship, with its brilliant flashes of light on de Wette, Ewald and other heroes of criticism, which he introduces at the end of the volume.



ists. But the publication of the *Geschichte Israels*, vol. i.<sup>1</sup> (1878) made Wellhausen the recognized protagonist—indeed, the personification, both for good and ill report—of the whole critical movement.

The weakness of much of the previous criticism was that it confined itself too exclusively to mere analysis of the sources. Wellhausen saw that critical certainty could only be reached on a broad basis of history. Accordingly, in his *Prolegomena*, he carries through a detailed comparison of the religious institutions—place of worship, sacrifices, feasts, priests and Levites—sanctioned in the different documents of the Hexateuch with those presupposed or referred to in the prophetic and the other historical books of the Old Testament. In the earlier books (Judges, Samuel, Kings, and the earlier prophets) he finds that worship may be practised anywhere; there were indeed certain “holy places”—where Jahve had appeared to the patriarchs—which were regarded as specially sacred centres of worship, e.g. Bethel, Dan, Gilgal and Shiloh; but one was at liberty to worship Jahve wherever one pleased. In these early books, too, sacrifice was a simple joyous meal, shared between the worshipper and his family and friends and Jahve. Such an institution as the Levitical sacrifices in the Tabernacle was unknown. Indeed, the existence of such was explicitly denied by the prophets (Amos. v. 25; Jer. vii. 21 ff.) In early days, sacrifice could be offered at any time, though the popular feasts or festivals of Passah (the old nomadic spring-feast) and Easter, Pentecost and Booths (originally connected with harvest and vintage) were the great occasions of worship. And for these simple sacrifices there was no need of a priest.

<sup>1</sup> The second edition of the *Geschichte* (1883) appeared as *Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels* (English translation, 1885). It is this volume which bears the memorable dedication: “*Meinem unvergessenen Lehrer Heinrich Ewald zu Dank und Ehren.*”

There were indeed priests in the service of certain private families and at the more important sanctuaries, and with the growth of the kingdom these priests increased in number and influence; but originally every man was his own priest. But after the destruction of the "high places" and the centralization of worship in Jerusalem, as the result of Josiah's reformation, a distinct change is observed. From this time the worship of God becomes more and more ritual. This process we find fully developed in the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. In these, Jerusalem appears as the only conceivable place of worship. The ritual of worship, too, is most elaborate and refined. The old joyous meals with Jahve have now passed into statutory sacrifices—mainly relating to remission of sins—offered by the official priesthood. The old feasts have become regular church festivals, likewise connected mainly with remission of sins, and culminating in the great Day of Atonement. While the priesthood has now developed into a full-blown hierarchy, with the high priest as the head of the order, and with regular duties and regular stipends.

Passing now to the documents of the Hexateuch, Wellhausen finds the early simple stage of religious worship presupposed everywhere in JE., the second or Josianic stage—with its enforcement of unity of worship—commanded in D, and the third—with its full Levitical ritual—presupposed by PC as already existing in Moses' time, in the worship of the Tabernacle. *Post hoc, ergo propter hoc.* JE belongs to the early period, D introduces the second stage, and PC the third.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen justly protests against the charge that on this hypothesis "the cultus was invented all at once by the author of the Priestly Code, and only introduced after the exile." PC was not the origin, but only the complete *codification* of the cultus. The latter was gradually developed from beginnings which reach back to the time of Moses, and even earlier. The documents only *mark* stages in the development.

The second part of the *Prolegomena*—the “History of Tradition”—is a penetrating *critique* of the historical value of the narratives contained in the different historical books. In the third part—entitled “Israel and Judaism”—after repelling various objections to his theory, and buttressing his main position by subsidiary arguments, he seeks to estimate the influence of the law-books (D and PC) on the religion of Israel. From the time of Moses, the prophets had kept alive the fire of Divine inspiration. As often as the old spirit “had been in a fashion laid to sleep in institutions, it sought and found in the prophets a new opening; the old fire burst like a volcano through the strata which once, too, rose fluid from the deep, but now were fixed and dead.” But with the entrance of the written Torah, the fresh creative spirit of prophecy died. In its place, as the point of contact with God, stood the Law, with its rigid, inexorable demands. “Worship no longer springs from an inner impulse, it has come to be an exercise in religiosity.” And the end of all worship is atonement for sin. “For after the exile the consciousness of sin, called forth by the rejection of the people from the face of Jehovah, was to a certain extent permanent; even when the hard service of Israel was accomplished and the wrath really blown over, it would not disappear.”

Wellhausen thus sums up the moral and religious effect of the Law: “If, then, the value of the sacred offerings lay not in themselves, but in obedience to the commandments of God, the centre of gravity of the cultus was removed from that exercise itself and transferred to another field, that of morality. The consequence was that sacrifices and gifts gave way to *ascetic exercises*, which were more strictly and more simply connected with morality. Precepts given originally in reference to the consecration of the priests for their religious functions were extended to the laity; the observance of these laws of physical cleanliness was of

much more radical importance in Judaism than the great public cultus, and led by the straightest road towards the theocratic ideal of holiness and of universal priesthood. The whole of life was compressed into a certain holy path; there was always a Divine command to be fulfilled, and by thinking of it a man kept himself from following after the desires and lusts of his own heart. On the other hand this private cultus, which constantly required attention, kept alive and active the individual sense of sin. The great pathologist of Judaism is quite right: in the Mosaic theocracy the cultus became a pedagogic instrument of discipline." (*E.T.* pp. 424 f.)

The effect of the publication of the *Prolegomena* was electric. By convinced Grafians like Kuenen, it was hailed with unbounded delight. "I can hardly describe," he wrote, "the delight with which I first read it." But on the minds of orthodox believers it created the most painful impression. Hitherto, criticism had played harmlessly among the clouds, as it were. Now it had descended to earth, and touched the shrine of faith. For it was seen that Wellhausen's views of the Hexateuch involved a complete reversal of the traditional idea of the origin and development of the religion of Israel. The strictly scientific spirit of the book, too, offended many reverent minds. To them it seemed unpardonable irreverence to treat the Bible as a *corpus vile* for the critic's scalpel. Thus a violent storm descended on the author's head. But the cogency and force of Wellhausen's arguments gradually triumphed over opposition. Scholars like Kautsch, who began the study of the book with a deep-rooted prejudice against the new hypothesis, found themselves compelled by the arguments to admit that it was "no longer a case of hypothesis against hypothesis, but of the denial or recognition of facts." Even men so cautious and reverent as Delitzsch and Davidson passed over to Wellhausen's side.

The mass of the younger men became enthusiastic "Wellhausenianer." By 1885 Kuenen was able to say that he "was no longer advocating a heresy, but was expounding the accepted view of European critical scholarship."<sup>1</sup>

It is a mistake, however, to regard the *Prolegomena* as irreverent, or its tendency as destructive. It may be rigidly, even coldly, scientific; but Wellhausen had learned in Lotze's school—apart from his own natural disposition—to regard strict science as the sure basis for a lofty spiritual view of history. He would have protested against the charge of levity or irreverence. In a very interesting review of Seinecke's *Geschichte des Volkes Israel* (in the *Th. Litzg.*, 1877) he condemns the author for this very fault. The aim of criticism, he protests, is not to throw ridicule on the ancient traditions of Israel; neither is it mere "learned play." It is the indispensable preliminary to a true appreciation of tradition; and apart from that it has no meaning. Wellhausen himself had no love for criticism in itself. He even speaks of the pain it gave him "to see these naïve stories plucked to pieces." His supreme interest was in the history of religion. He pursued his critical studies only as the means to the right understanding of that history. And now that he had laid his critical foundations "well and truly," he was free to proceed with the superstructure.

The first draft of Wellhausen's constructive History appeared in his brilliant article "Israel" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1881).<sup>2</sup> But when his larger work might justly have been expected, he resigned his chair at Greifswald and accepted the professorship of Oriental languages in Halle (1882). Three years afterwards he was called to the corresponding chair in Marburg.

<sup>1</sup> *V. Hexateuch*, E.T. p. xl.

<sup>2</sup> Afterwards published in German as *Heft 1* of the *Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten* (1884).

His motive was partly, no doubt, that he had fallen out of touch with official theology. But it was also, partly, that he might lay still deeper the foundations of his *magnum opus*. He had long urged the importance of wide Semitic studies for an understanding of the religion of Israel. And the chair he had now accepted gave him a free and spacious field for pursuing these studies.<sup>1</sup>

ALEX. R. GORDON.

## THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.

### (3) THE PAGAN VIRTUES.

CHRISTIAN teachers, in their eagerness to maintain the dependence of morality upon religion, have not always done justice to the moral ideals to which man has attained without the aid of revelation. We may, indeed, argue that morality without religion is maimed and imperfect, but to speak as if, apart from the Bible, we have no sure knowledge of duty, and no adequate motive to its performance, is to fly in the face of the most obvious facts of history. "Natural morality," as it has been called, is a real and a great thing; and though its light does not shine with the clear and steady radiance of the Christian revelation, we must not forget that it was the only guide vouchsafed to some of the noblest teachers of moral truth that the world has seen. There is a well-known passage in John Stuart Mill's *Autobiography* in which he describes the kind of education which he received from his father. It was, as nearly as his father knew how to make it, the education of a well-trained pagan. The elder Mill, we are told, partook

<sup>1</sup> In his *Muhammed in Medina* (1882) he says: "I left the Old Testament for Arabic studies with the intention of getting to know the wild-stock on which the shoot of the Torah of Jahve was grafted by priests and prophets. For I have no doubt that a true idea of the original endowments with which the Hebrews stepped on the stage of history can best be gained from a comparative study of Arabian antiquity." (p. 5).

in his views of life of the character of the Stoic, the Epicurean and the Cynic. In his personal qualities the Stoic predominated; his standard of morals was Epicurean; but he had (and this was the Cynic element) scarcely any belief in pleasure. "My father's moral convictions," says Mr. Mill, were "wholly dis severed from religion," and "were very much of the character of those of the Greek philosophers. . . . My father's moral inculcations were at all times mainly those of the 'Socratici viri'; justice, temperance (to which he gave a very extended application), veracity, perseverance, readiness to encounter pain, and especially labour; regard for the public good; estimation of persons according to their merits, and of things according to their intrinsic usefulness; a life of exertion in contradiction to one of self-indulgent ease and sloth."<sup>1</sup> All this is, without doubt, pure paganism; none the less is it moral teaching the worth of which every one instinctively recognizes. What, then, is the relation of the new Christian ethic to this older, natural, non-biblical morality? What place are we to assign in the ethical teaching of St. Paul to the virtues of Paganism? This is the question to which in this paper we seek an answer.

## I.

Before anything is said concerning St. Paul's relation to the pre-existing morality it may be well to illustrate a little more in detail the character of the ideals of Paganism. The history of ethics before the time of Christ<sup>2</sup> centres round the great name of Socrates, and for our present purpose it may perhaps be sufficient to divide it into the pre-Socratic, the Socratic, and the post-Socratic periods.

(1) The pre-Socratic period is the era of unconscious morality. Human conduct occupies as yet a very secondary

<sup>1</sup> *Autobiography*, pp. 46-48.

<sup>2</sup> I omit for the moment all reference to the ethics of Buddha.

and subordinate place in men's minds. Such thought on the matter as there is takes the form of popular moralizing ; there is no definite and coherent system. It is an age in which, as has been said, Homer occupies the place of the Bible.<sup>1</sup> Yet even at this early period, when the world was but in its moral childhood, the stirrings of a real moral life—a life which owes nothing to the Bible—are plainly to be seen. To this period belong the poetry of Hesiod,<sup>2</sup> the Sayings of the so-called "Seven Sages,"<sup>3</sup> the doctrines of Pythagoras,<sup>4</sup> and that moral fable entitled "The Choice of Hercules," the lesson of which, John Stuart Mill tells us, his father so impressed upon his mind.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, without venturing upon debatable ground, it seems safe to assert that however wanting men have been in moral energy, so far as historical evidence goes, there has always been a power of moral insight sufficient to mark the broad distinctions of right and wrong, and to point the way with ever growing clearness towards higher and purer ideals of duty.

(2) Three great names rule the Socratic period : Socrates himself, Plato and Aristotle. To attempt to characterize Socrates as a moral teacher in a sentence, or even in a paragraph, would be absurd. I can only advise the English

<sup>1</sup> Sidgwick's *History of Ethics*, p. 19.

<sup>2</sup> Sir Alexander Grant quotes the passage in which Hesiod makes use of the same figure to represent vice and virtue which was afterwards consecrated in the mouth of Christ: "The road of vice may easily be travelled by crowds, for it is smooth, and she dwells close at hand. But the path of virtue is steep and difficult, and the gods have ordained that only by toil can she be reached." (*Ethics of Aristotle*, Essay ii., p. 56.)

<sup>3</sup> For examples of their "prudential ethics dealing in a disjointed but often forcible and pregnant manner with the various parts of life," see the Essay just quoted, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> "In his precepts of moderation, courage, loyalty in friendship, obedience to law and government, his recommendation of daily self-examination—even in the rules of abstinence and ceremonial observance which we may believe him to have delivered—we may discern an effort, striking in its originality and earnestness, to mould the lives of men as much as possible into the 'likeness of God.'" (Sidgwick's *History of Ethics*, p. 18.)

<sup>5</sup> *Autobiography*, p. 47. On the fable itself see Grant's Essay, p. 108.



reader who has yet to make his acquaintance with the greatest of the Greeks to begin with Mr. F. J. Church's little volume, *The Trial and Death of Socrates*,<sup>1</sup> in which he will find passages of moral majesty and beauty that have, perhaps, no parallel outside our own sacred Scriptures.<sup>2</sup> To Plato, the disciple of Socrates, we owe the first statement of the four cardinal virtues—wisdom, courage, temperance and justice—which have figured so largely in all subsequent ethical discussions.<sup>3</sup> They embody an ideal which is henceforth constant in all Greek schools of moral thought, and which may be said, perhaps, to arise out of the general moral consciousness of Greece. "A Greek," as one writer puts it, "seems to have been expected to develop these virtues."<sup>4</sup> And however wide may have

<sup>1</sup> Containing the Euthyphron, Apology, Crito, and Phaedo of Plato.

<sup>2</sup> I cannot deny myself the delight of transcribing one or two short sentences, familiar as they must already be to many of my readers: "If you were therefore to say to me [Socrates is addressing his judges] 'Socrates, this time we will not listen to Anytus: we will let you go but on this condition, that you cease from carrying on this search of yours, and from philosophy: if you are found following these pursuits, again, you shall die': I say, if you offered to let me go on these terms, I should reply: 'Athenians, I hold you in the highest regard and love, but I will obey God rather than you; and as long as I have breath and strength I will not cease from philosophy, and from exhorting you, and declaring the truth to every one of you whom I meet.'" "Again I proved [he is referring to an incident in his past life] not by mere words, but by my actions, that, if I may use a vulgar expression, I do not care a straw for death; but that I do care very much indeed about not doing anything against the laws of God or man." "I have one request to make of them [his accusers]. When my sons grow up, visit them with punishment, my friends, and vex them in the same way that I have vexed you, if they seem to you to care for riches, or for any other thing, before virtue: and if they think that they are something, when they are nothing at all, reproach them, as I have reproached you, for not caring for what they should, and for thinking that they are great men when in fact they are worthless. And if you will do this, I myself and my sons will have received our deserts at your hands."

<sup>3</sup> The familiar fourfold division passed from the Greeks to the Romans, and was very early adopted by the Fathers of the Christian Church. The term "cardinal," however, is Christian, not Greek. It was first used by Ambrose (840-897 A.D.).

<sup>4</sup> T. B. Strong's *Christian Ethics*, p. 116.

been the gulf between Greek theory and Greek practice the ideal itself remains, an abiding witness to the power and penetration of the natural conscience of man. From Plato we pass to Aristotle, the most distinguished of his many disciples. Now for the first time ethics becomes a distinct and separate science. Not satisfied with his master's list of the cardinal virtues, saying that "people deceived themselves by general definitions," he discourses in masterly analytic fashion on virtues like liberality, high-mindedness, gentleness, agreeableness, truthfulness, and so on.<sup>1</sup> Of all the moral teachers of antiquity none perhaps has so powerfully influenced later and Christian thought as Aristotle. Dante saw in him "the master of the sapient throng,"<sup>2</sup> and from Thomas Aquinas to our own day thinkers of all schools have gladly owned his sway.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the 3rd and 4th books of the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

<sup>2</sup> *Inferno*, iv. 128, Cary's translation.

<sup>3</sup> Gladstone's "four doctors," to whom he owed "enormously," were Aristotle, Augustine, Dante, and Butler (*Life*, by J. Morley, vol. i., p. 207). "I never knew a man," Stanley writes of Arnold, "who made such familiar, even fond use of an author: it is scarcely too much to say, that he spoke of him as of one intimately known and valued by him; and when he was selecting his son's University, with much leaning for Cambridge, and many things which at the time made him incline against Oxford, dearly as he loved her, Aristotle turned the scale" (*Life*, pop. ed. p. 9). Still more striking is Maurice's tribute: "I owe unspeakable gratitude," he says, "to the University of Oxford for having put Aristotle's *Ethics* into my hands, and induced me to read it, and to think of it. I doubt if I could have received a greater boon from any university or any teacher. I will tell you what this book did for me. First it assured me that the principles of morals cannot belong to one time or another; that they must belong to all times. Here was an old heathen Greek making me aware of things that were passing within me, detecting my laziness and my insincerity, showing how little I was doing the things which I professed to do, forcing me to confess that with all the advantages which I enjoyed he was better than I was. That was one great thing. Next, I could not but learn from him—for he took immense pains to tell me—that it is not by reading a book or learning a set of maxims by heart that one gets to know anything of morality, that it belongs to life and must be learned in the daily practice of life. English and Christian writers, no doubt, might have told me the same thing. But I am not sure that their words would have gone so much home as Aristotle's did. I might have thought that it was their business, part of their profes-

(3) In the post-Socratic period it must be sufficient to mention the names of three of the great Stoic moralists of the Roman Empire: Seneca, Epictetus, and Marcus Aurelius. All belong to the Christian era: Seneca was a contemporary of St. Paul; Epictetus lived through the second half of the first century, Marcus Aurelius until the eighth decade of the second. Yet none of these appears to have taken with any seriousness, or in any way to have been influenced by, the new moral movement which was rapidly making its way in all parts of the Roman Empire. They lived and thought and taught with as little consciousness of the presence of Christianity in their midst as if they had belonged to another planet. Yet nowhere outside the pages of the New Testament is there to be found a nobler, purer, more unworldly morality than that which shines in the *Discourses* of Epictetus and the *Meditations* of Marcus Aurelius. John Wesley expressed the thoughts of many hearts when he wrote, "I read to-day part of the *Meditations of Marcus Antoninus*. What a strange Emperor! and what a strange heathen! giving thanks to God for all the good things he enjoyed! . . . I make no doubt that this is one of those 'many,' who 'shall come from the east and the west, and sit down with Abraham, Isaac and Jacob,' while 'the children of the kingdom,' nominal Christians, are 'shut out.'"<sup>1</sup>

## II.

The foregoing illustrations, which are presented as illustrations only, and not even as an outline of the vast subject to which they refer, will serve to show to what moral heights Paganism at its best was able to attain. We may now return to the question with which we began: in what relation does Christian morality stand to this pre-

sion, to utter those stern maxims, and to hold up such lofty ideals of conduct." (Quoted in J. S. Blackie's *Four Phases of Morals*, p. 145.)

*Journals*, vol. i., p. 522.

existing heathen morality? What was the attitude of the first Christian teachers, and of St. Paul in particular, towards the ethical ideas which they found already at work in the world? To answer the question fully would require not one but several answers. In the first place, Christianity filled up that which was lacking in the ideals of antiquity. To the Pagan virtues of honesty, industry, truthfulness, temperance, justice, it added the specifically Christian virtues of humility, forgiveness, patience, love. Furthermore, it so profoundly modified the character of the moral conceptions which it took over from the past that they became in large part new creations. They had henceforth to be defined in relation to an environment of spiritual truth and fact which for pre-Christian moralists did not exist. As Professor Findlay says, "The order and proportion of the virtues was changed; the moral scenery of life was shifted."<sup>1</sup> Or, to use a different figure, the old moral currency was still kept in circulation, but it was gradually minted anew.<sup>2</sup> The fact, however, upon which I desire to lay special emphasis is this: that Christianity *did* accept and endorse those findings of the natural conscience to which attention has been drawn in the earlier section of this paper. It assumed that man had a knowledge of duty, and the authority of duty, and upon that natural foundation both Christ and His Apostles built.

It may, indeed, seem to some readers of St. Paul's Epistles as if the Apostle were emphatic rather in the total denial of heathen virtue than in the admission and assumption of it. The burning words in which, in his Ephesian Epistle, he describes the "walk" of the Gentiles—"in the vanity of their mind, being darkened in their understanding, alienated

<sup>1</sup> *Christian Doctrine and Morals*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Strong has some forcible remarks on the transformation which the four cardinal virtues of antiquity undergo in the teaching of Thomas Aquinas and the greater schoolmen. See his *Christian Ethics*, p. 141.

from the life of God because of the ignorance that is in them, because of the hardening of their heart; who being past feeling gave themselves up to lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness"<sup>1</sup>—and the still more lurid and detailed account of heathen immorality to be found in the first chapter of Romans form perhaps the most terrible indictment of sinful human nature ever penned. And what is more, the indictment can be substantiated, in every count of it, out of the mouth of contemporary witnesses. Nevertheless the Apostle does not mean, and if we have regard not merely to these passages but to all that he has written, he does not say, that pagan society was so utterly corrupt that it had lost all knowledge of moral good. Bad it undoubtedly was, bad beyond all hope of recovery and renewal from within, and yet not so bad that it had quenched in utter darkness the light "which lighteth every man." When St. Paul says that "when Gentiles which have no law do by nature the things of the law, these, having no law, are a law unto themselves: in that they show the work of the law written in their hearts";<sup>2</sup> and when, again, in the same chapter, he remonstrates with the Jew who prides himself on his circumcision, saying, "Shall not the uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who, with the letter and circumcision, art the transgressor of the law?"<sup>3</sup> he plainly assumes alike some knowledge and performance of moral duty on the part of heathen men. In another Epistle he rebukes his readers because, Christians though they were, they had sanctioned a form of immorality which even the conscience of the heathen condemned.<sup>4</sup> And in yet another Epistle he appeals directly to the existing ethical standards of the day as standards for his own converts: "Whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are noble,

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 17-19.<sup>2</sup> Rom. ii. 14, 15.<sup>3</sup> *vv.* 25-27.<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. v. 21.

whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report; if there be any virtue, and if there be any praise, think on these things."<sup>1</sup> The inference from all this seems plain and unmistakable: to St. Paul and the first Christians, to live in conformity with the Divine will meant, as McGiffert says, to live in conformity with the dictates of the universal human conscience. It meant, of course, much more than this; but it never meant less than this. If honesty, industry, truthfulness, temperance, justice were binding on a heathen, still more were they on a Christian, and no properly instructed Christian could suffer himself to think or speak lightly of them. In a word, and to repeat what has already been said, natural morality was the foundation which the Apostles assumed and upon which they built.<sup>2</sup>

If, then, such is the relation of the Pauline morality to the virtues which are recognized as virtues by all men, these latter deserve a place in the minds of all Christian

<sup>1</sup> Phil. iv. 8. See McGiffert's *Apostolic Age*, p. 507.

<sup>2</sup> "Suppose," says Professor Knight, "a cultivated Athenian youth in the first century—who had been educated in the Academic or Stoical philosophy, and had consistently practised the virtues of these systems—to have embraced Christianity on conviction, what would happen? The old virtues of his Academic or Stoical novitiate would not be uprooted or extinguished. He would continue to practise them, but they would immediately undergo a transformation. It is possible that, for a time, they would have no special interest to him, because of the new attraction he had found in Christianity; but he could never despise them, if his life had been either noble or genuine before. To have done so would have been to act the part of traitor; and to be disloyal, not only to his past career, but to the divinity working within him. The old virtues would be displaced, but not destroyed; and the Christian Ethic came, to the disciples of earlier systems, 'not to destroy, but to fulfil'—in other words, to evoke the good it found, and to transfigure it by its alliance with other truths which it disclosed, and the fresh life it unfolded." (*The Christian Ethic*, p. 62.) To this extent we may readily admit the truth of Mill's contention that the Gospel always refers to a pre-existing morality, and that consequently the New Testament neither contains, nor claims to contain, a complete system of ethical doctrine. (See *Essay On Liberty*, pop. ed. p. 28.)

men, and especially of all Christian teachers, which they have by no means always received. Dean Church remarked once of Dean Stanley that whatever may have been his limitations he did thoroughly understand "the value of the great virtues, justice, veracity, courage, and *their essential connexion with the Christian type of character.*"<sup>1</sup> But it is just this "essential connexion" which is so imperfectly realized by many Christians. Thus, e.g., it is sometimes said, and not wholly without truth, that courage is more highly esteemed without than within the Church. As Dr. Dale half paradoxically puts it, "Some people who pass for very good Christians would be very poor Pagans."<sup>2</sup> Yet these things ought not so to be. When the morality of the religious falls below that of the irreligious, Christ is wounded in the house of His friends. We need to-day an ethical revival within the Church. We must emphasize anew the great old virtues to which even the natural, un-Christianized conscience bears its witness. We must tell men plainly that they may be "religious," but that if they cheat and lie, if they incur debts which they have no means of paying, if they neglect public duty, not because they are unfitted for it, but because they prefer a life of selfish ease, they break Christ's commandments, they are none of His. Worse symptoms of a Church's decay than deserted sanctuaries and empty treasuries are the softening of the moral fibre, the blurring of the moral vision of her children. Nay, we may crowd our churches and fill our treasuries, but if we are powerless to make bad men good and good men better, our strength is gone from us; wickedness and

<sup>1</sup> *Life and Letters of Dean Church*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures on Preaching*, p. 248. See also the opening chapters of the same writer's *Evangelical Revival and other Sermons*. It is greatly to be regretted, especially in the light of Dale's own statement, that, with the exception of his book on the Atonement, he had never published anything with a graver sense of responsibility, or with a deeper desire to secure a hearing (see *Life*, p. 850), that this volume should have been allowed to go out of print.

worship God cannot away with. Let us not judge one another, but rather let us judge ourselves, and "let every one that nameth the name of Christ depart from iniquity."

### III.

In order to illustrate still further what has been said above let us take the virtue to which reference has just been made—the virtue, i.e., of courage—and briefly compare its place in the ethical systems of antiquity with that which it holds in the teaching of St. Paul. Now among the ancients courage was the chief of virtues. In the *Nicomachean Ethics* it stands first and receives the fullest exposition. Virtue = *virtus* = valour: there is a world of significance in the simple etymology. We must take care, however, not to read into the word the larger and fuller meaning which it has come to possess in later times. With rare exceptions the heroes of antiquity were its warriors. The brave man was he who went forth to die for his fatherland on the field of battle. Of one ancient poet indeed (Simonides) it has been said that heroism was in his eyes almost the sum total of possible human excellence.<sup>1</sup> Organized as human society then was, i.e. almost exclusively with a view to military success, such a limited conception was perhaps inevitable; none the less must the limitation be kept in mind in any comparison between ancient and Christian ideals.

When we turn to the New Testament, though the war-like associations of the words drop out of sight, the ideal, heightened and purified, still remains. There is, assuredly, no comfort for cowards here, and least of all in the life and words of St. Paul. "God," says the Apostle, in his last letter to Timothy, "gave us not a spirit of fearfulness," or cowardice (*δειλία*)<sup>2</sup>; and on that saying his whole life is one long and noble commentary.

<sup>1</sup> Grant's *Ethics of Aristotle*, vol. i. p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> Tim. i. 7. Note too that at the head of the list of those whose part



"God gave us not the spirit of cowardice":—there is, as Bishop Paget truly says, almost a touch of irony in the vast understatement of the case.<sup>1</sup> Did the Apostle call to mind what he had told the Corinthians? He was the last man in the world to make parade of what he had borne for Christ's sake and the gospel's; but once in self-defence the facts were wrung from him and they were such as these: "In labours more abundantly, in prisons more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths oft. Of the Jews five times received I forty stripes save one. Thrice was I beaten with rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day have I been in the deep, in journeyings often, in perils of rivers, in perils of robbers, in perils from my countrymen, in perils from the Gentiles, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren; in labour and travail, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness."<sup>2</sup> "A spirit of cowardice," indeed! St. Paul's life as an Apostle began in one supreme act of moral courage. The world is wont to look with questioning eyes on any man who suddenly espouses a cause of which before he had been an unrelenting foe—"and this wise world of ours is mainly right"—but when the change is made in the light of day, with no mean and pitiful excuses, under the sheer pressure of conscientious conviction, we can and do admire; for there is no nobler form of courage than that of the man who will stand up before his fellows and say with his finger on his own past, "It is all wrong, a bad, bad blunder; fool and blind that I was that I did not see it sooner; but I see it now. Henceforth till set of sun I will toil to right the wrong I did. So help me God!" It was in this spirit that Saul took up the tasks of his new life: "Straightway in

is "in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone" the book of Revelation (xxi. 9) sets "the fearful," the cowardly (*oi δειλοί*).

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Christian Character*, p. 107.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 28-27.

the synagogues," we read, "he proclaimed Jesus, that He is the Son of God. And all that heard him were amazed. . . . But Saul increased the more in strength, and confounded the Jews which dwelt at Damascus, proving that this is the Christ." In the very city to which he had come armed with authority to bring bound to Jerusalem "any that were of the Way, whether men or women," there, as Barnabas reported of him to the Apostles, he preached boldly in the name of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> His whole apostolic career was cast in the same heroic mould. The breadth of spiritual daring, which led him, like another Alexander, to plan the conquest of the whole world only fails to impress us because we have grown so familiar with its results. Wherever we meet him, in the presence of friends or foes, of individuals or a crowd, of a Roman governor or a Roman jailor, he is always the same courageous, resourceful leader. With a brave man's impatience of weaklings he refused to take Mark as his travelling-companion the second time when once the latter had failed him, and separated from Barnabas rather than yield the point.<sup>2</sup> He did not hesitate even to resist to the face St. Peter himself, when that Apostle "walked not uprightly according to the truth of the gospel."<sup>3</sup> At Lystra he was stoned and dragged out of the city as if dead. But the next day he went forth with Barnabas to Derbe. "And when they had preached the gospel to that city . . . they returned to Lystra."<sup>4</sup> What a glimpse of quiet, unbending courage does that simple sentence of the historian give us! Or take this from the

<sup>1</sup> Acts ix. 2, 20-22, 27.<sup>2</sup> Acts xv. 37-39.<sup>3</sup> Gal. ii. 11-14.<sup>4</sup> Acts xiv. 19-21. Readers of the *Pilgrim's Progress* will recall Bunyan's description of the man with a stout countenance, who came up to him with the inkhorn, saying, "Set down my name, sir," and then began to cut his way through the armed men into the palace. "Then Christian smiled, and said, I think verily I know the meaning of this." The marginal note refers us to the incident at Lystra, which is quoted above. "To Bunyan courage is the root of all virtue." (See *John Bunyan*, by the author of *Mark Rutherford*, p. 125).

Apostle's own pen : " I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost ; for . . . *there are many adversaries.*"<sup>1</sup> The very gravity of the peril is only another reason why he should stick to his post. Like some great soldiers, St. Paul's courage rose to its highest when the bullets sang around him, and the dangers in front began to thicken. It is needless to multiply illustrations, though many more might be quoted.<sup>2</sup> Only one word need be added : courage with St. Paul did not mean absence of fear. As Aristotle says, a man may appear to be brave simply because he does not see his danger. But the Apostle's keen eye swept the whole field, and sometimes with a sinking heart. " Without were fightings, within were fears," he told the Corinthians, as he called to mind one of the darkest hours of his life.<sup>3</sup> When he left Athens it was " in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling." <sup>4</sup> " Pray for me," he said to his converts, " pray for me, that I may make known with boldness the mystery of the gospel, that I may speak boldly as I ought to speak " ; <sup>5</sup> as though the one thing which he feared might fail him was his courage. And three times at least did his Lord stand by him in the night, saying, " Be not afraid," " Courage ! " " Fear not, Paul." <sup>6</sup> Not to feel no fear, but to refuse to yield to it, to rise superior to it and overcome it—this is the spirit of the truly brave man, and this was the spirit of St. Paul." <sup>7</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. xvi. 8-9.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., the account of St. Paul's behaviour during the tumult at Ephesus (Acts xix. 30-31), the riot at Jerusalem (xxi., xxii.), or the storm at sea (xxvii.) There is a characteristic paragraph on the moral courage displayed by the Apostle at Athens in Mr. Hugh Price Hughes's *Morning Lands of History*, p. 181.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Cor. vii. 5.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> Eph. vi. 19-20.

<sup>6</sup> Acts xviii. 9; xxiii. 11; xxvii. 24.

<sup>7</sup> As an illustration of the way in which fear and true courage may dwell together in the heart of the same man, especially if he be of a highly imaginative temperament, I may perhaps refer to one of the most striking of recent works of fiction, Mr. A. E. W. Mason's *Four Feathers*.

Mr. Lecky thinks that with the growth of civilization there is an inevitable decline of the spirit of heroism. As society passes from the military to the more peaceful stages, the atmosphere, while more congenial to some virtues, becomes less so to the heroic.<sup>1</sup> Whatever truth there may be in this contention must lie within very narrow limits. Indeed, it reads very much like a revival of the old pagan idea, that heroes are to be looked for only on the field of battle. The changed conditions of modern life happily present to but few, and that at comparatively rare intervals, such opportunities for the display of individual heroism as, in earlier and fiercer times, came to men daily and unsought. And yet it may well be questioned if even war has ever been as great a school of heroism as is the peaceful life of our organized industrial communities to-day, and whether in the simple annals of the poor there may not be read by understanding eyes and hearts the record of quiet, unflinching heroisms, shown not in some "crowded hour of glorious life," but through the long monotony of the years, which far outshine the glittering triumphs of the stricken field. The philosopher of Concord comes nearer the heart of the matter than the English historian: "Times of heroism," says Emerson, "are generally times of terror, but the day never shines in which this element may not work. The circumstances of men, we say, are historically somewhat better in this country, and at this hour, than perhaps ever before. More freedom exists for culture. It will not now run against the axe at the first step out of the beaten track of opinion, but whoso is heroic will always find crises to try his edge. Human virtue demands her champions and martyrs, and the trial of persecution always proceeds."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. i. pp. 180, 187 and 228.

<sup>2</sup> Essay on Heroism.

*THE BOOK AS AN EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOL.<sup>1</sup>*

IN the *EXPOSITOR*, October 1888, p. 255 ff., three gravestones found in Northern Phrygia are described. All three bear the curious legend "Thou shalt not wrong God."<sup>2</sup> This legend is in one case accompanied by the representation of an open book<sup>3</sup> (indicated by incised lines). In this case certainly, and in the other two cases almost certainly,<sup>4</sup> the above-quoted words were engraved by a different hand from that which cut the principal epitaph describing the construction and purpose of the tomb. In the first case the principal epitaph remains in full, and is better expressed, better spelt, and better cut than the short legend. The legend is placed at the top of the stone unsymmetrically, and has all the appearance of being cut as an afterthought by an unskilled hand. The principal epitaph occupies the proper position at the bottom of the stone (though, either because it was too long, or because part was omitted, three names which complete it are added in the upper left margin).

In the other two monuments the legend is engraved in very rude fashion by an untrained hand between the heads of the human figures represented in relief on the stone, but in both the principal inscription is lost, in one case through the mutilation of the monument, in the other case through the defacing of the letters. Though definite certainty is in

<sup>1</sup> In the article in the last *EXPOSITOR*, February, I regret much the omission of a footnote to p. 156. The article was written hurriedly away from books at the end of the Christmas vacation, and a previous paragraph referring to Canon Tristram (where the note was in place) was omitted. I wrote to the printers asking that the following note should be inserted on a separate slip as an erratum (but the number had been printed and despatched before my letter arrived): "Canon Tristram's book is one of those that stand above praise: one uses it and is thankful for it."

<sup>2</sup> τὸν θεόν σὺ μὴ ἀδικήσεις, with various gross mis-spellings: the ungrammatical future instead of the conditional is a symptom of the bad Phrygian Greek.

<sup>3</sup> Strictly, the object is a set of wooden *tabellae*, used for writing documents in, and having a superficial resemblance in shape to a book.

<sup>4</sup> The uncertainty is due to the incompleteness of the two monuments as is explained in the sequel.

these cases not attainable, yet the unusual and awkward position and the rude form of the letters in the legend points to the same conclusion as in the first monument.

The legend in these three monuments was probably added by a member of the family which purchased the gravestone. The stones were kept ready in stock by a tradesman, and purchased by the family. The regular epitaph was engraved by a skilled hand, doubtless in the workshop; the epitaph was put in the space that had been reserved for the purpose above or below the ornament, though the epitaph was sometimes too long and sometimes too short for the space. But the short additional legend in these three cases seems to have originated in the desire of the family for some expression of religious feeling; and the rough indication of a book or *tabellae* in one case almost certainly springs from the same source and was cut by the same hand as the legend. The legend and book are the only proof of Christian origin in one case, and the other two may probably be classed with it in this respect (though it is of course possible that the lost principal inscription in them may have contained some evidence of religion). This perhaps points to the desire for secrecy. The principal epitaph was of neutral tone, but the legend added by the family was more distinctive. Yet even this legend shows that veiled and cryptic character which seems to belong to the pre-Constantinian period, and which intentionally leaves the religion of the deceased uncertain to the ordinary reader, and clear only to the initiated.<sup>1</sup> There was no necessary cause why a pagan should not put on a tomb, "Thou shalt not wrong God." There is nothing overtly Christian about the words, and yet I believe that Christians understood them as a proof of the faith. The proof that the formula was used only by Christians is incomplete, but can now be made stronger than formerly.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 292.

There has been among some recent scholars a tendency to argue that every phrase which is not necessarily and certainly Christian ought rather to be regarded as pagan; and such scholars would be probably disposed to regard the use of the legend, which we are here discussing, as furnishing no proof of the Christian origin of the monument. The same remark would apply to others among the series of monuments described in the article just quoted and those which followed it.<sup>1</sup> But the discovery of new monuments has confirmed the Christian origin of most of the gravestones formerly published; and the writer has little to change in those articles, which traced the first outline of a great and growing subject, the Christian epigraphy of inner Asia Minor, though there is now a great deal to add.

Before the Christian origin of those Phrygian tombs can be reasonably maintained, it is necessary to raise and to answer the question, What was the thought and purpose in the mind of those who added this legend to some of those tombstones? Such an addition is indicative of a certain view about life and about death. What was that view? It would not be possible to answer this question with any certainty from these three cases alone; but the analogy of many other monuments inscribed with other formulae points decisively to the answer. The legend represents the warning or hortatory utterance of the dead man. He in his new estate has read the lesson of the world, and preaches it on his grave-stone, just as Avircius Marcellus did in a much wider exhortation on his grave. Now the one great lesson which the Phrygians at that time generally emphasized on their gravestones was the sanctity of the grave, and the vengeance which will overtake any violator. Both pagans and Christians during the third century (to which most of the monuments of this kind belong, though a few are probably as late as the earlier years of the fourth

<sup>1</sup> EXPOSITOR, October, 1888-May, 1889.

century) looked for protection and vengeance both to the civil courts and to the Divine power. Christian formulae have it that he who injures or violates the tomb "shall have to reckon with God," or "shall give account to God, who is to judge the living and the dead," etc. These formulae are developed out of pagan suggestions.<sup>1</sup> It is characteristic of the Christian formulae to appeal more clearly and explicitly to the judgment day, as the time when the reckoning shall take place and the punishment be inflicted.

This is a somewhat meagre lesson to teach, and indicates a narrow and half-pagan view. The ordinary Phrygian Christian of the third century was still, in some respects, strongly tinged with the old pre-Christian ideas about the grave and its sanctity. Such ideas are always difficult to eliminate from the minds of a converted people. Perhaps it is neither wise nor right to try to eliminate them too rapidly. Certainly the Christian gravestones of the third century in central Asia Minor show generally this extremely jealous maintenance of the sole right to the use of the tomb (a jealousy which originated in the pagan idea that the tomb is the temple of the dead man, where he enjoys the worship and is ready to grant the prayers of his descendants who maintain his religious cult, and that any intruder would diminish his enjoyment by sharing in the worship). Yet there are traces<sup>2</sup> that even during the third century the Phrygian Christians were advancing towards a more noble and Christian view, in which the tomb was open to friends or to the brethren generally.

In the unbroken monument, which has just been described, a book<sup>3</sup> is roughly indicated by incised lines beside the legend. In the EXPOSITOR, as above quoted, I sug-

<sup>1</sup> These are described in *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. pp. 496 ff., 514 ff.; but other pagan examples occur besides those there mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. pp. 581 f., 782 f.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word *βιβλος*, a book, is often used to indicate a document of the kind that was generally written on *tabellæ*.



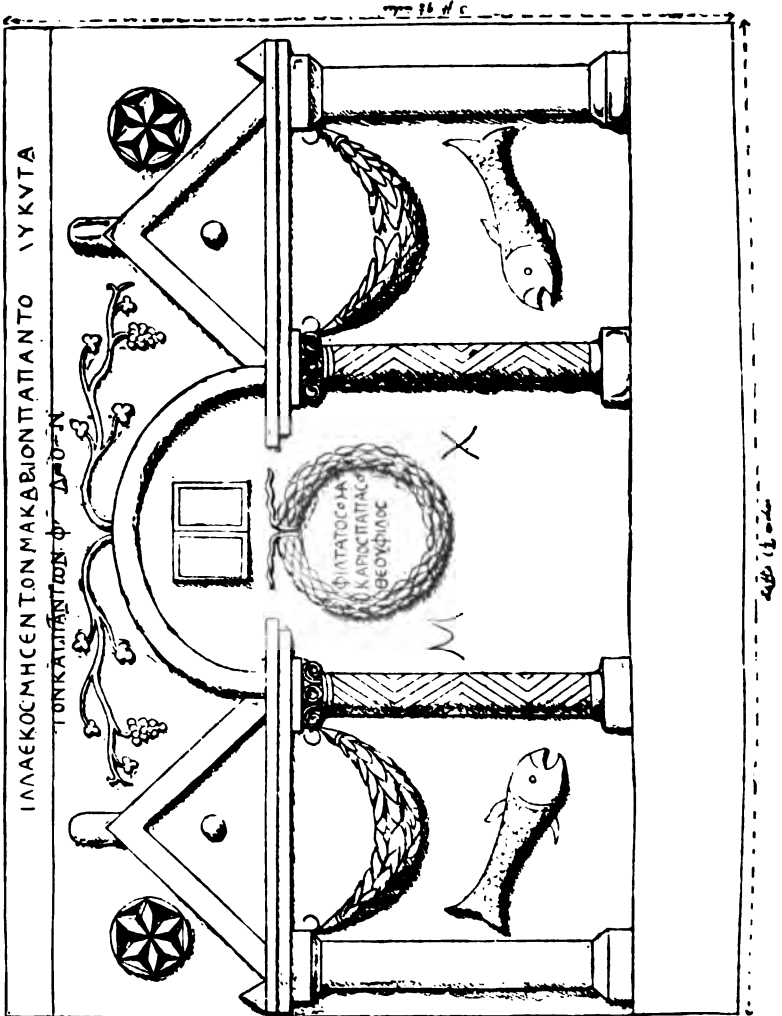
gested that this was intended to represent an open codex of the Bible (which was possible at that period); but the fact that the legend and the book are added together by the same rude hand makes it natural to understand that they stand in a close relation to one another. If that be so, the book must rather be understood to be a record of the covenant or arrangement between God and man; and the book is opened to test the faithfulness with which the covenant has been kept. In fact the book is simply a symbol of the judgment of God which all men must submit to. The thought of the day of judgment was uppermost in those Phrygian epitaphs; and in one of them the formula is "he shall have to reckon with God both now and at the day of judgment."<sup>1</sup> It is not so much a book in our sense of the word, as a set of tablets, of the kind on which letters, wills and many other documents of ordinary life or of legal character were inscribed.

The origin of the legend might throw light on the purpose; but I do not know whence it is derived. The words are not taken from the Septuagint (in which only *ἀδικεῖν ἐν θεῷ*, not *τὸν θεόν*, seems to occur, e.g. 2 Chron. xxvi. 16). They are, probably, to be understood as a summary statement of the covenant, which is supposed to be stated in the *tabellæ*. These tablets have been opened when the formal judgment of the case has begun, just as, in ordinary legal processes, the tablets containing the formal agreement on which the case turned were opened in court when the legal process began.

That this is the preferable interpretation seems to follow from a Christian tombstone, probably of the period 250-280 A.D., found at Isaura Nova about forty miles south of Iconium. This stone, one of the most important of the recently discovered Christian monuments of that country,

<sup>1</sup> *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 514, no. 858. Compare also the two formulæ already quoted.

is shown in the accompanying illustration, drawn by Miss A. Margaret Ramsay, and published by her in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 265. The illustration is here



repeated by permission of the Council of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies.

This remarkable monument of a Lycaonian bishop is

the oldest as yet known in Asia Minor, in which a distinctively Christian character is imparted to the ornamentation: the figures represented are chosen by Christian taste and are intended to produce a specially Christian effect. Yet there is nothing necessarily Christian either in the general scheme of the monument or about any one of the details. There is none of them that might not conceivably be used by a pagan, and most of them were freely used in pagan art of the period in question. The total effect, however, and the spirit of the whole, are indubitably Christian, and the monument affords extremely interesting evidence about the local religious feeling in the second half of the third century.

One part of the ornamentation alone is probably a Christian idea in origin, and not adapted from contemporary pagan art—the two fish. The fish is hardly known as an ornament in pagan art. Sacred fish indeed are well known in pagan religion, and it is quite probable that some esoteric meaning or power was there attributed to the fish; but the fish does not seem to have affected the popular art of contemporary society. Only in Christian thought and Christian symbolic expression was the fish of the highest importance, so as to make it a suitable device in a prominent place on an elaborate gravestone like this. The two fishes symmetrically indicated on this stone would alone be sufficient to suggest that it is a Christian monument.

The Christian character of the stone is demonstrated beyond question by the inscriptions. The principal inscription follows the usual pagan form, and yet differs subtly from it: a lady whose name ends in the termination *-illa* (Nonilla or something similar) "did honour to the blessed Papas, the sweetest one and friend of all." Nonilla must have been closely connected with the deceased, as the term "sweetest" (*γλυκύτατος*) is practically restricted on

the tombstones of the country to express near relationship.<sup>1</sup> She was probably his wife, yet she does not mention the relationship nor the name of the deceased. She only calls him by the title, which already had become almost a technical term for a bishop among the Christians, *μακάριος πάπας*.

The first explanation of this peculiarity which suggests itself is that the title Papas had already in this part of Asia Minor almost superseded the original name of the bishop: the office, like many of the great pagan priest-hoods, was *hieronymos*, i.e. the bearer disused his personal name, and took the hieratic official title in its place. A different explanation, however, will be advanced at the end of this paper as possible, founded on the theory that the bishop was a martyr.

His relatives here even seem to sink their relationship, and regard him only in his hieratic aspect. There is hardly another epitaph in this district in which the relative who erects the tomb fails to mention the relationship to the buried person. The rule which is observed in some grave-stones of this same town, e.g. of another bishop, and some other Christian officials, presbyter, *œconomissa*, etc., whose name and title alone are inscribed on their tombs, is really a different sepulchral formula, in which the maker of the tomb is not mentioned.

If the view that the title is here substituted for the name of the deceased is correct, it would suggest that a strong pagan influence affected this local development of Christianity. In fact it might be asked whether the title Papas was not due to pagan influence. That title was applied in Asia Minor to the chief god; and it was also used as a title

<sup>1</sup> . . . . ἢ ἀλλὰ ἐκόσμησεν τὸν μακάριον πάπαν, τὸν γλυκύτατον καὶ πάντων φίλον. The formula with *ἐκόσμησεν* was extremely common in Lycaonia: it is paraphrased in a metrical epitaph of Nova Isaura (Miss Ramsay, No. 1) as *τεύξε οἱ ἀγλαίην*, "wrought a beautiful monument for him." Ignatius spoke of the deacons of Magnesia as *τῶν ἐμοῖ γλυκυντάων*.

in addressing an earthly father. The similar word *ἄπας* occurs as a title of a special kind of priest<sup>1</sup>; and *παπᾶς* may have probably been used both generically as an address to a priest of high rank, and as a title of some special kind of priest (though no example can as yet be quoted from the scanty remains that have come down to us), since the name of a god (for example, Attis) was often applied to his priest in Asia Minor. The pagan word *Papas* was perhaps adopted by the Christians, just as *episkopos* and many other pagan titles were adopted by them.

The title *Papas* is used also by Gregory Thaum., *Ep. Canon.* i. (as Dr. Sanday mentions), which confirms our inscriptions as a proof of usage in Asia Minor; and Professor Harnack<sup>2</sup> points out that the title *makarios papas* was in Egypt appropriated to the Bishop of Alexandria during the third century, alone among the Egyptian bishops (the others being addressed as *πατὴρ ἡμῶν*). The use of this expression in our inscription, therefore, points to the third century; and the dating 250–300 A.D. is confirmed by many other reasons mentioned in Miss Ramsay's paper.

The architectural scheme is common to a large number of sepulchral monuments in the same town, and is unknown except in a small district around.<sup>3</sup> Reasons are stated in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (partly by Miss Ramsay, and partly by the present writer in the conclusion of her article) for thinking that this whole series of monuments forms part of the development of the Christian town, and "arose during the inspiration and quickening of mind and activity caused by the general acceptance of the new religion in the city" (p. 292). How such a scheme came into use on

<sup>1</sup> See Buresch, *aus Lydien*, p. 180 f., Ziebarth, *das griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 153; Ramsay *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia*, i. p. 142, (where *Ἄπας* is wrongly taken as a second name of Zeuxis, instead of his title).

<sup>2</sup> *Berlin Sitzungsber.*, 1901, p. 990. See *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> Over thirty examples are published in the article quoted, and many others are known.

gravestones is an unsolved problem<sup>1</sup>; but there is obviously nothing Christian about it originally; a Christian character can only have become attached to it through association. It is well-known, and is inevitable in the circumstances, that art among the Christians only by slow degrees disengaged itself from contemporary art as it existed in society generally and assumed a special character of its own. To this originally non-religious scheme doubtless a Christian meaning became attached, but what it was is unknown.

The crown in the centre is one of the commonest ornaments in pagan monuments of this period in Asia Minor; but to the Christian who planned this monument or gazed upon it, the symbol doubtless was "the crown of life," promised to the victor in the Smyranean Church.

The trailing vine-branches would recall the words "I am the vine, ye are the branches." But the ornament was often used in pagan art without any symbolic intention. It was a Christian art that caught up the detail and gave it a meaning of its own.

This interpretation of the details selected for the ornamentation of this remarkable monument will, doubtless, have to encounter the charge of being fanciful and subjective. But those who have examined the subject for themselves, and worked through the evidence point by point, know that symbolism is of the essence of early Christian art. The Christians began at first by using the ordinary surroundings of life, including the ordinary system of ornamentation (where ornament must be used); gradually, they formed their own surroundings and made their own art; and their decorative art created itself out of existing forms by selecting those details which were suited to express Christian ideas and thoughts. It is by tracing the presence of symbolism and of a straining after mean-

<sup>1</sup> Though not used, so far as known, elsewhere in sepulchral monuments, a similar scheme is employed in manuscripts; see, e.g., Strzygowski *Kalenderbilder*.

ing in the details that we detect the first steps of Christian art as it disengaged itself from previously existing art. There must inevitably be some degree of subjectivity and doubt in the attempt to trace the beginnings of this symbolism. We have to try to determine the point at which a detail which had been used by ordinary people universally in a different way began to be used by Christian hands in a definitely Christian way, and to bear a certain meaning to Christian eyes and minds.

In this attempt an element of uncertainty is unavoidable. But in the interpretation given of the monument before us there seems to be no fancifulness; there is the creative play of trained imagination, working through sympathetic understanding, which must always be applied in interpreting the past. The interpretation of the symbolism of a distant past cannot be proved with definite objective certainty. Confidence and assurance come through the recognition of heart by heart<sup>1</sup>: we feel the meaning which the heart of that ancient time is struggling to express to our heart and to all time: a common emotion, a common belief and a common humanity enable us to feel and to respond.

In the present case we have fortunately the indubitable evidence of the inscriptions to show that the family which purchased this monument from the professional stone-cutter and ordered the words to be engraved on it, was Christian. But might it not be supposed that the stone was cut by pagans and sold in a pagan shop? That cases of this kind often occurred cannot be doubted; but in the present instance, this is utterly improbable. The choice of ornament speaks to us, if we have the trained historical imagination. There never was a pagan stone like this one.

At the same time it must be plainly recognized and confessed that the study of early Christian art in Asia

<sup>1</sup> The words of Faust to Wagner will occur to every reader.

Minor is only beginning. The monuments have never been collected, or studied, or published. When they are more fully known, much will be learned that is now hid from us; and perhaps it may be found that some of the first steps in interpretation were mistaken. But pioneers must take some risks, when they are attempting to lead the way into a new region; unless they take the risk and go ahead, the beginning cannot be made. All the greater is the risk, if it be true (as we believe) that in Asia Minor the first stages in the formation of a distinctively Christian form of art were made.

Even the two rosettes have probably a religious significance. The suggestion made by Miss Ramsay in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 268, seems to me to be correct and to be corroborated by other unpublished Lycaonian monuments. The rosette was regarded in Lycaonian Christian art as an ornate elaboration of the early monogram<sup>1</sup> ✠; i.e. I.X. for Ἰησοῦς Χριστός. This monogram was placed within a circle, the three lines being made diameters; and ornamental character was imparted.

That this form of Christian monogram was used in central Asia Minor is proved by the Phrygian inscription published in the *Cities and Bishoprics*, ii. p. 526, no. 371, which belongs probably to about A.D. 270. This symbol is rare, because it was disused early. A Roman inscription of A.D. 268 or 279 contains it. In the fourth century the symbol ✠ had taken its place.

In the original Christian form out of which this rosette was developed the three cross lines would naturally be more clearly emphasized, and examples of this more recognizable form are common: in some cases the rosette is hardly more than three incised lines placed diametrically within a circle (as in No. 17 in the above-quoted article, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1904, p. 280). But in most

<sup>1</sup> De Rossi, *Inscr. Christ. Urb. Rom.*, No. 10.



cases the symbol is varied and elaborated so as to become almost purely ornamental, though certainly the meaning of the ornament was remembered for a time. At last, however, even the meaning was forgotten, for in a few late examples, the four-armed is substituted for the three-armed rosette.<sup>1</sup>

A similar instance of elaboration of another early Christian symbol into a mere ornament is found in the use of the cross +, either simple or within a circle, was used as a symbol to mark a Christian tomb from an early time. It was placed somewhere on the surface, in such a way as to be recognized by the initiated, while it might readily be taken by the ordinary passer-by for a mere meaningless ornament. It was even placed occasionally within a square or rectangle, in which case it was exactly like an ordinary Pagan ornament used on Pagan graves from the Midas-tomb in the eighth century B.C. downwards. In that last case no confidence can be felt that it is intended as a Christian symbol. One example is given by Miss Ramsay, *loc. cit.*, p. 285, No. 29, who expresses no opinion as to the religion of the stone. Another Phrygian example was published by me as Christian in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1883, p. 424: later I changed my opinion, and mentioned it as more probably Pagan in the *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 705. Finally I have again been emboldened to regard it as probably Christian by the newly discovered Lycaonian class of ornate Christian tombstones. These changes of opinion show how slippery a subject the interpretation of symbolism, which was intended to be elusive, must necessarily be. The reason why for a time I regarded the tomb as more

<sup>1</sup> Most of these four-armed (or, as we might call them, eight-armed) rosettes are found in Pisidia, where Christian art was of later origin and probably derived from Lycaonia, without proper understanding of the meaning.

probably Pagan (as stated in the place just quoted) was that the style of ornament was so closely analogous to native Phrygian ornament, and bore no resemblance to any known Christian symbolism, while it seemed doubtful if the cross was used as a Christian symbol so early as A.D. 121 (the date on the tombstone, probably); but the question is changed essentially, since this symbolic language in Lycaonian art has been discovered.

It is only by the collection and classification of examples that confidence can be attained; and as yet there is not a sufficiently large collection of examples to justify confident assertion in every case. There is, however, still a large number of monuments to collect, and hardly any attempt is being made to collect them before they disappear. Most travellers regard these humble and often very rude monuments with contempt, and do not always take the trouble even to make drawings of them when they find them; sometimes they do not even copy the letters or describe the stone. I have found sometimes in my old note-books examples of Christian symbolic monuments, whose character at the time I had not recognized, though later discoveries had shown that they must be Christian. In some cases I had fortunately made a sketch of the ornamentation; but in other cases I have only a brief note in words, or retain a mere memory of what I lost.

In the Lycaonian monuments, published by Miss Ramsay, this symbol of the cross appears in the pediments of the architectural scheme, Nos. 3, 4; more or less varied it appears as an ornament in Nos. 10, 11 (in No. 11 resembling a mere star, in No. 10 a Maltese cross); still more elaborated it is seen in Nos. 14, 28, 30, 31, 34 (in several of these being combined with the rosette), worked up into the swastika<sup>1</sup> it appears in Nos. 4, 16, 17, 23, 25; and in No. 16

<sup>1</sup> Professor Sterrett was the first to recognize the swastika on Lycaonian gravestones as a Christian symbol (*Wolfe Expedition*, Nos. 220, 56, 98).

it appears a second time as a curiously elaborated double swastika. Contemplating long series of monuments, found all in one small town, the product of a short period, about 250-350 A.D., and of a few workshops, one must recognize that the use of the cross in Christian symbolism goes back to an early time, at least to the second century.

Returning to the tomb of the Blessed Bishop, from which the discussion started, we perceive that in such a monument as this the symbol indicated in the central pediment above the crown must, beyond all doubt, have a Christian meaning. Now in this case the nature of the symbol is clearly indicated; it is not in our sense a book; it is an open set of *tabellae*. The depression in the surface of each *tabella* to contain the wax (in which the document was inscribed) is clearly indicated. The pair of tablets was represented on this grave, because it had already been appropriated to sepulchral Christian purposes, and we have recognized it as the Christian symbol indicating death and the judgment of God after death; the tablets are opened to indicate that the process of judgment has begun. The tablets were unsealed and opened after death had taken place.

Therefore we must understand that the entire symbolism of the central and principal part of the monument indicates the judgment after death and the crown of life which is the reward of him who has been faithful unto death. In this crown is engraved the second part of the inscription: "Very dear is the blessed Papas, the friend of God." In the last phrase, Theou-philos, we shall be justified in seeing a play upon the name of the deceased, the blessed bishop, Theophilos.

Was Theophilos, then, a martyr? Had he gained the crown of life by faithfulness unto death in the fullest and highest sense? It is impossible to say. There is nothing inconsistent with the probabilities of the case in supposing that Theophilos was actually a victim of the Decian persecution A.D. 251. In that case we should have here a

Christian memorial of that great persecution to set alongside of the dated memorial erected to one of the priests, who stimulated and directed the pagan reaction against Christianity at that time, a memorial which was recently discovered at Akmonia.<sup>1</sup> But, on the other hand, it is equally possible that the symbolism had already been widened in its application, and was used on the tombstone of any Christian, martyr or not. The avoidance of the name, and the indication of it only by a play on the meaning of the word Theophilos, would perhaps point to the former alternative as the more natural; and in that case the substitution of the title for the personal name would lose much of the half-pagan aspect which at first sight it seemed to bear, and would be only the result of the necessary concealment. The Roman government did not war against the dead, as a rule, but granted the remains of martyrs to their friends; yet even then it would hardly be permitted to the friends to raise so stately a monument as this must have been and inscribe it explicitly to the memory of a criminal who had been executed by official authority. The epithet *makarios*, also, was especially appropriate to a martyr, though *makarios papas*, it is true, may have been the regular designation of a bishop in Asia Minor, as well as in Alexandria. The whole inscription, in its two parts, certainly diverges far from the common style of sepulchral epigraphy, whether Christian or pagan; and the theory of martyrdom would well explain the character of the monument and the epitaph. But beyond that probability it is at present impossible to go.

W. M. RAMSAY.

<sup>1</sup> It was published by the writer in the *Revue des Études Anciennes*, 1901, p. 275 f. (with a correction of the date in the same *Revue*, 1902, p. 269). On the whole subject some remarks are made in the *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 110.

(To be concluded.)

## JERUSALEM FROM REHOBAM TO HEZEKIAH.

*Circa 940-700.*

THE period of the City's history, which we now enter, is bounded by two abrupt and dominant events, which across the quarter of a millennium that separates them confront each other with opposite effects upon her fortunes: the Disruption of the Kingdom about 940, and the Deliverance of the City from the Assyrians in 701. The Disruption stripped Jerusalem of her brief distinction as the capital of All-Israel. Her Deliverance from the Assyrians, following upon the destruction of her northern rival, restored her rank as the single capital, commanding a smaller but compact and secluded territory, and above all endowed with the greater fame of having proved to be the one inviolable shrine of the true God. Between these two distant and opposite crises a long ebb and a gradual flow of the city's fortunes are discernible. For at first Jerusalem suffered additional spoiling and disgrace; but under the later monarchs of the period she recovered some of her former strength. It would be wrong, however, to assume that the time of her sufferings was full only of loss. Throughout it Jerusalem still possessed the ancient sanctuary of her God, with a comparatively pure worship, and she remained loyal to the dynasty of David, the guardian of its bright and pregnant traditions. Thus both her misfortunes and her recoveries during this period made for the glory of her future: the former by the memories and hopes in which they disciplined her people, the latter by preparing the material basis on which her unique holiness was to be vindicated by the hand of God.

### 1. REHOBAM, *circa 933-917.*

The Biblical history of the Disruption of the Kingdom

consists of two narratives. According to one, which is generally assigned to a writer of Northern Israel, Rehoboam, upon the death of his father, went to Shechem, where all Israel gathered to make him king.<sup>1</sup> Did this narrative stand alone, it would be evidence that in spite of David's choice and Solomon's embellishment of Jerusalem the city was not yet regarded as the focus of the national life, but that the latter still found its more natural centre at Shechem.<sup>2</sup> Such an impression, however, is dispelled by another account preserved in the LXX.<sup>3</sup> According to this Rehoboam had begun to reign in Jerusalem before Jeroboam returned from Egypt on hearing of Solomon's death, and went to Shechem only after Jeroboam's appearance there at the head of the revolt.<sup>4</sup> Whether the negotiations between Rehoboam and the northern Israelites took place before or after the arrival of the former at Shechem is uncertain. The result was that Rehoboam, discarding the advice of his father's counsellors and following that of his younger contemporaries, refused to lighten

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xii. 1 ff. The addition, that at this time Jeroboam also came to Shechem, which the Hebrew text contains, is not original, as we see both from its omission by the LXX. and from the statement in verse 20, that Jeroboam was sent for and came to Shechem only after the revolt had begun. This narrative has been assigned to a northern writer, both because the blame of the Disruption is imputed by it to Rehoboam (hardly a sufficient reason, considering that Judæan historians did not hesitate otherwise to condemn the early kings of Judah) and because a Judæan writer would not have allowed that the succession to the throne was decided upon Solomon's death by the popular election implied in this account (nor is this conclusive, for a Judæan scribe would be glad to record the popular choice of a son of Solomon).

<sup>2</sup> See *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 119 ff., 332.

<sup>3</sup> Swete's ed. 1 Kings xii. 24 a-z. This account is generally assigned to a Judæan writer, as it opens with the usual formula for the beginning of a reign of a king of Judah, assumes Rehoboam's succession as a matter of course, and imputes the blame of the Disruption to Jeroboam. On the whole question of the relation of the two accounts and their comparative value see Skinner's Appendix, note ii., to *Kings* in the *Century Bible*.

<sup>4</sup> V. 24 n. (Swete). The arguments against the trustworthiness of this account by Kuenen and Kittel are not conclusive. It appears the more natural.

the burdens laid on the people by Solomon. He answered the suppliants with an insult, and wantonly aggravated this by sending them Adoniram, *who was over the levy*. They killed Adoniram, and Rehoboam saved himself only by flight to Jerusalem. The Disruption was complete.

The effect upon Jerusalem is clear. The City remained loyal to the dynasty to which she owed her rank, and retained her supremacy over Judah;<sup>1</sup> but she was cut off from the resources, both religious and commercial, which she had enjoyed under Solomon. She still held the ancient sanctuary of Jahweh; but Jeroboam, whom a prophet of Jahweh had acclaimed as king of Northern Israel, established His worship in two sanctuaries at either end of the kingdom, a striking contrast to the centralizing policy of Solomon. The Temple<sup>2</sup> was cut off from the vast majority of Israelites, for the trans-Jordanic tribes joined the Northern Kingdom. The loss to Jerusalem was not only religious. The sanctuaries of the time were its principal markets as well,<sup>3</sup> and the trade which a monarch so vigilant for the commercial interests of his realm must have included among his designs in building the Temple would be largely diverted from its courts. At Bethel, which, besides possessing more ancient religious associations than Jerusalem, stood near the junction of two trade routes, Jeroboam instituted at harvest-time a great festival which would also be a great fair.<sup>4</sup> It was only twelve miles distant from Jerusalem, and in times of peace would attract,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xii. 20: *the tribe of Judah only*. This is confirmed by the list of cities fortified by Jeroboam; they are all in Judah (2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.). Thus the words *and the tribe of Benjamin* in 1 Kings xii. 21 must be a later addition.

<sup>2</sup> It is uncertain how much adhesion the Temple had secured among North Israelites in Solomon's time.

<sup>3</sup> See "Trade and Commerce" by the present writer in the *Encycl. Bibl.*

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xii. 32.

by this double temptation, numbers of traders from Judah.<sup>1</sup> Jerusalem, too, had lost the sumptuousness of her court.<sup>2</sup> The morale of the City under these losses may be judged from the spirit of the counsellors whom Rehoboam had chosen, as well as from the abandonment of the campaign against the Northern Kingdom which they proposed. Prophecy had too emphatically blessed the latter for any immediate hope of a victory against it. The impression of this fact upon the people of Judah may even have led to the formation of a party favourable to the North, unless the sympathies of those likely to join were alienated by the establishment of the images in Dan and Bethel. In any case it was a shaken and dispirited people in Judah who now faced the inevitable war with the larger and richer tribes that had broken away from them.

The state of war lasted sixty years.<sup>3</sup> Soon after it began Judah suffered in addition from an Egyptian invasion. This was the first of many warnings to Israel of the necessity of her union, for Egypt, though in possession of the Philistine coast, had not dared to attack the united kingdom under David and Solomon. But *in the fifth year of Rehoboam*, according to the Biblical narrative, *Shishak* (or *Shoshak*), *king of Egypt*, that is Shoshenq I., of the twenty-second dynasty, *came up against Jerusalem, and took away the treasures of the house of Jahweh, and the treasures of the king's house, and all the golden shields which Solomon had made, and which the king's guards used when escorting him to the Temple.*<sup>4</sup> It is not said that Jerusalem was

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the appearance of Amos at Bethel; he may have gained his experience of life in North Israel and of the ritual at Bethel by his journeys as a wool-seller. Cf. *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. pp. 79 ff.; and Driver, *Joel and Amos in the Cambridge Bible for Schools*, p. 105.

<sup>2</sup> *Expositor*, 1905, p. 94 f.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 30, xv. 6, 16, xxii. 44.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff. For Shishak LXX. b reads Σουσακιμ, and says that the shields were those which David took from the Arameans: 2 Sam. viii. 7. The consonants of the Hebrew text of verse 25 read Shoshak.



actually taken by Shoshenq, nor is this necessarily implied by the Chronicler's account, which adds that Shoshenq took the fenced cities of Judah.<sup>1</sup> Shoshenq's own list of the cities affected by his campaign covers Israel as well as Judah, but his enumeration may include cities which sent him tribute besides those which he took by force of arms.<sup>2</sup> Among them the name of Jerusalem has not been deciphered. Rehoboam replaced the golden shields by shields of bronze; and, further, is said by the Chronicler to have fortified a number of cities in Judah.<sup>3</sup> These were Bethlehem, Etam (Artās, just south of Bethlehem), Tekoa and Beth-shir (Burj-sür), all between Jerusalem and Hebron; Hebron itself; Ziph (Tell Zif, S.E. of Hebron), Mareshah, Adoraim (Dora) and Lakish, all guarding the approaches to Hebron from the south; Sokoh, 'Adullam, Gath and 'Azekah, all on or near the border between the Shephelah and the hill-country of Judah,<sup>4</sup> Şor'a and Ayyalōn commanding two passes to Jerusalem from the coast.<sup>5</sup> This list, in contrast with that of the cities fortified by Solomon,<sup>6</sup> exhibits how shrunken was the territory of which Jerusalem was now the capital. On the east her

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> See W. Max Müller, *Encycl. Bibl.*, artt. "Egypt," § 63 (with a reproduction of part of Shoshenq's list), and "Shishak," according to which the enumeration of the northern cities "merely means that the northern kingdom was tributary; it is only the second half of the list which contains details pointing to the actual conquest, and these seem to belong to Judah." This seems a more natural explanation than that given by C. Niebuhr and Winckler (*Gesch. Israel's*, i., 160, n. 1) that the northern cities in the list were conquered by Shoshenq for Rehoboam. Had the Mişraim to which Jeroboam fled been the Arabian Muşri, as Cheyne argues (cf. the art. "Shishak"; cf. Winckler, *Gesch.* ii. 273), it is difficult to see why Shoshenq should have interfered so partially with the two kingdoms.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xi. 5 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 205 ff.

<sup>5</sup> The position of Hebron on the list—last, both in the Hebrew and in the LXX.—is curious.

<sup>6</sup> *EXPOSITOR*, 1905, p. 96.

connexion with Jericho was severed; and Jericho, if we may judge from the care which so many invaders of Judaea took to possess it before advancing on Jerusalem, was always a convenient source of supplies for the latter. No cities to the north of Jerusalem are mentioned on the list. In Rehoboam's time that border must have been drawn immediately above Jerusalem. Her own walls confronted it without any intervening fortress.

After a reign of seventeen years, Rehoboam was succeeded by Abijah, his son by Maacah, the daughter of Absalom. Abijah reigned three years.<sup>1</sup> The Deuteronomic editor passes on this king an adverse judgment, which is explained by the first acts of his successor. War continued between him and Jeroboam. The Chronicler gives a detailed account (which, to say the least, is much coloured by the circumstances of a later age)<sup>2</sup> of a battle between Abijah and Jeroboam at Šemaraim, near Bethel, in consequence of which Abijah was able to push his frontier north to Bethel, Jeshana, probably the present 'Ain Sīniyeh,<sup>3</sup> and Ephron or Ephraim, the present eṭ-Ṭaiyibeh. Abijah was not able to keep these cities, for under his successor the frontier had fallen as far south as Ramah.

## 2. ASA: circa 913-873.

Abijah was succeeded by his son<sup>4</sup> Asa, who is said to have reigned forty years, the round number in the Old Testament for a generation. The first record of his reign,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xv. 1-8. The Hebrew text spells the name Abijam; but Abijah is confirmed by the LXX., Ἀβιῶν, and by 2 Chron. xiii. 1. On Maacah see the commentaries.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Chron. xiii. 2 ff.

<sup>3</sup> cf. Josephus, xiv. *Antt.* xv. 12.

<sup>4</sup> As Asa's mother is given the same name as Abijah's, *Maacah the daughter of Absalom* (1 Kings xv. 2, 10) some would read *brother* for *son* in verse 8. Alternatively Maakah, the mother of Abijah, continued to enjoy the rank of Queen-mother in the beginning of Asa's reign. Or there is a confusion of the two names.

which is given, is one of religious reform.<sup>1</sup> He removed the idols which *his fathers had made*, along with an image erected by the Queen-mother, Maakah. He did not remove the high places, or local sanctuaries of Jahweh, but he gathered into the Temple the *holy things which he and his father had dedicated*. The text calls the image erected by Maakah a *horrible* or *grisly*<sup>2</sup> thing, *for or belonging to an Asherah*; but *grisly thing* may be a substitute for a word which either moral or religious delicacy forbade the later scribes to write. Asa cut it down and burned it at the Kidron. This record is from the Deuteronomic editor, but as the reforms described in it fall short of the Deuteronomic standard, it must be founded on an earlier source, and we have no reason to doubt the details. They illustrate the congenital and obdurate heathenism with which Ezekiel charges Jerusalem. The original Jebusite population remained among their Hebrew conquerors; and their ritual, as of gods of ancient association with the place, must have been a constant temptation to the latter. That it was these gods whose idols Asa removed is confirmed by the survival to a later age of the foreign cults established by Solomon in connexion with his trade and treaties with the Phoenicians and other nations. The most interesting detail, however, is Asa's gathering of *holy things* to the Temple. They must have been brought from other sanctuaries. Was this done for their greater security? Or may we see in the fact the first step towards that gradual centralization of the worship which the Deuteronomic legislation consummated? In this connexion, we ought to notice that the Chronicler states that Asa attracted to the purer worship of the Temple a number of the Northern Israelites.<sup>3</sup> This is very probable.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xv. 9-15.

<sup>2</sup> LXX. *σύνεδος*; Jerome, a phallic object.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xv. 9 ff.

The political events of Asa's reign are mainly taken from the early annals both of Judah and Israel.<sup>1</sup> In Northern Israel Jeroboam was succeeded for two years by his son Nadab, who while laying siege to Gibbethon,<sup>2</sup> a Philistine town, was slain by Baasha, of the house of Issachar, and Baasha carried on the war both against Judah and the Philistines.<sup>3</sup> Against the latter he fortified Ramah of Benjamin, five miles north of Jerusalem, *that he might not suffer any to go out or come in to Asa king of Judah.*<sup>4</sup> To relieve the pressure, Asa stripped the Temple and his own house of their silver and gold, and sent this to Ben-hadad of Damascus to bribe him to break his league with Israel. Ben-hadad invaded the northern provinces of Israel; and when Baasha in consequence suspended the fortification of Ramah, Asa carried off the material and fortified therewith Geba of Benjamin: either Geba' on the natural frontier formed by the valley of Michmash,<sup>5</sup> or Gibeah, three miles from Jerusalem<sup>6</sup>; and Mizpah, either the present Neby Samwil<sup>7</sup> or Scopas on the north road. Jerusalem had now these screens between her and the frontier of Israel, yet Asa did not dare to carry his arms across the latter, not even during the civil war which followed the overthrow of Baasha's dynasty.<sup>8</sup> According to the Chronicler, Asa won a decisive victory over Zerah the Kushite, near Mareshah, and pursuing him to Gerar took much spoil.<sup>9</sup> These invaders, who are usually understood to have been the Ethiopian Kushites,

<sup>1</sup> Judah, 1 Kings xv. 16-22; Israel, id. 27-29a; xvi. 9-11, 15b-18, 21-24 (except 28ab). The other verses are from the Deuteronomic editor.

<sup>2</sup> A frontier town of Dan, Josh. xix. 44, xxi. 28.

<sup>3</sup> According to 1 Kings xvi. 15, Gibbethon was still besieged by Israel when Omri rose to take the crown.

<sup>4</sup> xv. 16 f.

<sup>5</sup> The present Geba' on the Wady Suweinit.

<sup>6</sup> Tell el-Ful.

<sup>7</sup> In whose neighbourhood we find a fortification, Bethome (Beituni?), in the days of Alexander Jannaeus.

<sup>8</sup> xvi. 9-22.

<sup>9</sup> 2 Chron. xiv. 8-14. The Hebrew text says that the battle took place in the glen of Saphathah, i.e. סַפְּתָה, for which the LXX. read ΒΕΨΥ, κατὰ βορρᾶν, to the North of.

were more probably from Arabia, where there were tribes of the name. The booty taken from them points to their being Arabs. If this was so, then we see the first of many Arab failures to invade Judah from the south. Fortified towns which yielded to more civilized armies proved a sufficient screen to Jerusalem against the Nomads; and, near as she lay to the Desert, no Arab invasion reached her walls<sup>1</sup> till the time of the Hasmoneans, when the Nabateans, aided by a force of Jews, besieged the Holy City.

Asa lived through the reign of Omri and saw the genius of the latter create from its foundations the city which was to prove in history as in prophecy the one counterpart and rival of Jerusalem. It is remarkable how from the beginning Shechem disappeared out of the politics of Northern Israel. The geographical centre of the whole land, on the main trade route across the Western Range, and endowed with abundant fertility, Shechem appears to have lost her supremacy through the military weakness of her site.<sup>2</sup> When Jeroboam formed his kingdom, he removed his residence from Shechem to Tirzah, commanding one of the eastern avenues to his land; and Tirzah was retained as their capital by the following dynasty. But Omri, partly because of his alliance with Phœnicia, crossed to the western face of Mount Ephraim, and selected a new site on an isolated hill at the head of the chief pass to the coast. He called this, according to the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, Shōmerōn, which would be taken to mean the same as the German Wartburg; but the Greek and Aramaic forms preserve what is probably an older vocalization, Shamrain, from which the form Samaria is derived.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Unless we take as historical, and as referring not to the Philistines, but to the Arabs alone, 2 Chron. xvi. 16.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Geog. of the Holy Land*, 846 ff.

<sup>3</sup> LXX. b of 1 Kings xvi. 24, Σεμερων, Σαμερων; Aramaic, Ezra iv. 10, 17, Shamrain; cf. the Samarina of the Assyrian inscriptions.

The new capital rapidly gathered the kingdom under her lead—the head of Ephraim is Samaria<sup>1</sup>—and gave her name to the whole of it. To the earlier prophets of Judah Samaria was already the double of their own Jerusalem, both in character and in the consequent doom which their God sent upon His people. That later prophecy should remember her as Jerusalem's elder sister<sup>2</sup> is explained by her position. Young and upstart as she was, from the greater fertility and openness of her surroundings Samaria derived a precocity of growth which lifted her above Jerusalem in wealth and energy.

Grey, shrunken and withdrawn, Jerusalem must sometimes have envied the brilliance of her younger sister. Yet envy cannot have been the only nor the prevailing temper of her people in this period. Jerusalem held the Ark, was constant to her one dynasty, and lay aloof from the probability of invasion. Samaria did not contain the principal sanctuary of her kingdom,<sup>3</sup> was the creature of a usurping dynasty that at any time might pass away like its brief predecessors, and besides had to endure, on her open and forward position, one siege after another from powerful invaders. On these facts wise minds in Jerusalem knew that their City could wait, and nursed for her the promises of David. They were inspired by the possession of poetry, popular and national, which not only, as in the "Oracles of Balaam," sang the glories of an Israel undivided; but signalized, as in the "Blessing of Jacob," the political pre-eminence of Judah.<sup>4</sup> It is certain that Judæan

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah vii. 9.

<sup>2</sup> Ezekiel xxiii. 4.

<sup>3</sup> Which was in Bethel, Deut. xxxiii. 12. See below.

<sup>4</sup> It is hard to believe that the longer oracles of Balaam were later than the days of Saul and David. "The Blessing of Jacob," Gen. xlix. 1-27, is assigned by Driver (*Genesis*, p. 380) to "the age of the Judges or a little later," by Duhm (*Encycl. Bibl.* col. 8797) to the early reign of David, and by Kautzsch (*Abriss d. Ge-ch. d. A. T. Schriftums*, p. 142) to at least as early as Solomon's reign, though he admits the possibility of a later date.

writers of the period were busy with new works. Among these we may place the strong and spirited narratives of the reigns of David and Solomon (obviously based on earlier documents), which emphasize Jerusalem as the centre of the national life that they celebrate. Many also assign to this period the Judæan constituent of the Pentateuch, the Jahwist Document, and it breathes a much more confident spirit, a firmer sense of possessing the future, than the parallel northern narrative of the Elohist. There is not, however, either in the poetry or in the histories just cited, any expression or even foreboding of that unique sacredness which future events and legislation were to confer upon Jerusalem. Whether or not the Book of the Covenant<sup>1</sup> was known and obeyed in Judah at this time, the practice which it sanctions of worshipping Jahweh at many altars was recognized as freely there as in Northern Israel, His high places were not yet removed. But though none of the literature of Judæa articulately predicts the Single Sanctuary, it reveals the moral and political elements which were already quietly working towards the ultimate centralization of the worship of Jahweh.

By the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time seems to have been wholly disregarded. To begin with, that Kingdom called itself Israel, flying high its title to be regarded as the actual people of Jahweh. Permeated by a strong, self-reliant temper, its annals and narratives do not even mention Jerusalem. The drought of Elijah's time must have afflicted Judah as well as Israel and Phœnicia, yet in his splendid story the name of Judah occurs but once, and then casually as defining the position of Beer-

See also G. B. Gray, *Numbers*, pp. 818 f. Wellhausen and others, because of verse 28, date the blessing after the Aramean invasions. The collections of poems known as "The Book of Jasher" and "The Book of the Wars of Jahweh," used by the Jahwist, were also in existence.

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xx. 22-xxiii. 19.

sheba.<sup>1</sup> When Elijah himself seeks Jahweh, it is not the Temple which is the goal of his pilgrimage, but Horeb. This is not to be explained by the probability that Judah was already the vassal of Israel, and that the fugitive prophet sought a shrine of his God beyond the influence of Ahab. The truth is that for the prophecy of the Northern Kingdom, Jerusalem at this time had no religious significance. If the Blessing of the Tribes (in Deuteronomy xxxiii.), as its contents and spirit seem to prove, is an Ephraimitic work from the beginning of the double kingdom, its eulogy of Benjamin, as containing the dwelling of Jahweh, must refer to Bethel, for, as we have seen, the documents of the period do not include the tribe of Benjamin in the Southern Kingdom.<sup>2</sup>

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xix. 8.

<sup>2</sup> On the date of Deut. xxxiii. see the commentaries. Driver and others incline to the reign of Jeroboam I.; Moore (*Encycl. Bibl.* col. 1090); and others to that of Jeroboam II. The northern origin of the poem is universally admitted, and indeed is very obvious.

(To be continued.)



## LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

## II.

## THE BOOK OF DANIEL.

i. 1. "Whatever may be thought of the genuineness or authority of any part of the book of Daniel, it makes no difference in my belief in Christianity; for Christianity is within a man, even as he is a being gifted with reason; it is associated with your mother's chair, and with the first remembered tones of her blessed voice" (Coleridge).

i. 2, 6. "I was taken captive when nearly sixteen years of age. I did not know the true God; and I was taken to Ireland in captivity with so many thousand men, in accordance with our deserts, because we departed from God and kept not His precepts" (St. Patrick's *Confessions*).

i. 8. *But Daniel purposed in his heart.* "The strangeness of foreign life threw me back into myself" (Newman, *Apologia*, chap. i.).

"I dwell in Grace's court,  
Enriched with Virtue's rights:  
Faith guides my wit! Love leads my will!  
Hope, all my mind delights!

Spare diet is my fare;  
My clothes more fit than fine!  
I know I feed and clothe a foe,  
That, pampered, would repine."

(Robert Southwell.)

i. 12 f. See Addison's *Spectator* (No. 195), and Dante's *Purgatorio*, xxii. 145.

i. 21. "Most failures lie in not going on long enough. I heard a man in a meeting in the country long ago, say that one of the most encouraging verses he knew was a verse of common metre to this effect—

'Go on, go on, go on, etc.'"

(James Smetham.)

"What is commonly admired as successful talent is far more a firm realising grasp of some great principle, and that power of developing it in all directions, and that nerve to abide faithful to it, which is involved in such a true apprehension" (Newman).

ii. 23 f.

"O mystery, whence to one man's hand was given  
Power over all things of the spirit, and might  
Whereby the veil of all the years was riven,  
And naked stood the secret soul of night."

(Swinburne.)

ii.-iii. See Keble's lines on "Monday in Whitsunweek."

ii. 33. "I am not one who in the least doubts or disputes the progress of this century in many things useful to mankind; but it seems to me a very dark sign respecting us that we look with so much indifference upon dishonesty and cruelty in the pursuit of wealth. In the dream of Nebuchadnezzar it was only the *feet* that were part of iron and part of clay; but many of us are now getting so cruel in our avarice, that it seems as if, in us, the *heart* were part of iron, part of clay" (Ruskin, in *The Two Paths*).

"Thine only gift hath been the grave,  
To those that worshipp'd thee;  
Nor till thy fall could mortals guess  
Ambition's less than littleness!  
Thanks for that lesson—it will teach  
To after-warriors more  
Than high philosophy can preach,  
And vainly preached before.  
That spell upon the minds of men  
Breaks never to unite again,  
That led them to adore  
These Pagod things of sabre sway,  
With fronts of brass and feet of clay."

(Byron's *Ode to Napoleon*.)

ii. 42-43. "There be also two false *Peaces*, or *Unities*; The one, when the Peace is grounded, but upon an implicite ignorance; For all Colours will agree in the Darke. The other, when it is peeced up, upon a direct Admission of Contraries, in Fundamentall Points. For Truth and Falsehood, in such things, are like the *Iron and Clay*, in the toes of *Nebuchadnezzar's Image*; They may Cleave, but they will not Incorporate" (Bacon).

"The image that appeared to King Nebuchadnezzar in a dream was made of gold, of silver, of iron, and of clay. The idol of this world differs from that seen by the Babylonian monarch; for it is all gold—pure gold—and does not even possess the humanity of clay" (Sir Arthur Helps).

ii. 44. "Christ's religion was not a mere creed or philosophy. A creed or a philosophy need not have interfered with kingdoms of this world, but might have existed under the Roman Empire, or under the Persian. No; Christ's kingdom was a counter kingdom: It occupied ground; it claimed to rule over those whom hitherto this world's governments ruled over without rival; and if this world's governments would not themselves acknowledge and submit to its rule, and rule under and according to its laws, it 'broke in pieces' those governments" (Newman).

ii. 49. *Daniel was in the gate of the king.* "Before I was humbled I was like a stone lying in deep mud; and He who is mighty came, and in His own mercy raised me, and lifted me up, and placed me on the top of the wall. . . . And me—who am detested by this world—He has inspired beyond others (if indeed I be such), but on condition that with fear and reverence, and without complaining, I should faithfully serve the nation to which the love of Christ has transferred me" (St. Patrick's *Confessions*).

iii. 1. "Bentley's first year at Trinity is marked by at least one event altogether fortunate—his marriage. At Bishop Stillingfleet's house he had met Miss Joanna Bernard, daughter of Sir John Bernard, of Brampton, Huntingdonshire. 'Being now raised to a station of dignity and consequence, he succeeded in obtaining the object of his affections,' says Dr. Monk—who refuses to believe a story that the engagement was nearly broken off owing to a doubt expressed by Bentley with regard to the authority of the Book of Daniel. Whiston has told us what this alleged doubt was. Nebuchadnezzar's golden image is described as sixty cubits high, and six cubits broad. Now, said Bentley, this is out of all proportion; it ought to have been ten cubits broad at least, 'which made the good lady weep.' The lovers' difference was possibly arranged on the basis suggested by Whiston,—that the sixty cubits included the pedestal" (Sir R. C. Jebb's *Bentley*, pp. 97, 98).

JAMES MOFFATT.

(To be continued.)

## LOISY AND HIS CRITICS IN THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH.

ABBÉ LOISY is one of the most distinguished Biblical scholars that the Roman Catholic Church has produced in recent times. He has the same task for the Latin countries that W. Robertson Smith had for Great Britain, namely, to maintain the rights of Biblical criticism against the no less arrogant than unhistorical claims of traditional dogmatism.

So long as his criticism confined itself to the Old Testament, Loisy was not seriously disturbed ; for Leo XIII., in his kindness of heart and breadth of mind, protected him from the intolerance of the Cardinal Archbishop of Paris and other the like prelates. But Loisy could not limit himself to the study of the Old Testament alone. The irresistible force of circumstances, as well as his own intense interest in the study of the Bible as a whole, compelled him, as it has many others, to apply the principles of criticism to the Gospels.

Criticism has advanced in recent years from the lower or textual criticism through the higher or literary criticism to the more serious historical criticism. Harnack's lectures on the Essence of Christianity brought this criticism in a striking manner before the Christian world, and Roman Catholics, no less than Protestants, were obliged to consider it. Loisy has written the best reply to Harnack<sup>1</sup> that has yet appeared, and has given a noble defence of the Roman

<sup>1</sup> *L'Évangile et l'Église*, 2me ed. 1908. *The Bible and the Church*, N.Y. 1904. Loisy defends his position in *Autour d'un petit Livre*, 2me ed. 1908.

Catholic position against Protestantism as well as Rationalism; but this counts but little with traditionalists, who in his case, as in similar ones with which we are familiar, charge him with yielding so much to the enemy that what remains is of little worth to them. Tradition must be taken in its entirety, or not at all. To discriminate between the official tradition of the Church, and the traditional theories of the theologians is destructive to all theology and criticism. So they say, and so they act, not hesitating to risk the Christianity of the Catholic Church, nay, the Christianity of Jesus and His apostles, upon the correctness of traditional opinions which have never received the sanction of the Church, or of its most distinguished fathers and theologians. The attacks upon Loisy in a literary form are too numerous to mention. Those that have had the widest circulation, so far as I have been able to determine, are those of Bishop Camus,<sup>1</sup> Abbé Frémont,<sup>2</sup> and the venerable Jesuit theologian Palmieri.<sup>3</sup>

Camus, in the proud consciousness of his prelacy, writes with authority. The gist of his argument is—Thirty-five years ago I gave a solution of the synoptic problem<sup>4</sup>; it is temerity in you not to agree to it (p. 25). Tradition has once for all settled the question of the Gospel of John (p. 35 seq.); it is infidelity to the Church to question it. Your exegesis is false (p. 121). If your system of theology were true, there would be no supernatural left in Christianity; Christianity would be false (p. 125).

Frémont, as becomes an Abbé, is more modest, yet even he ventures to give a psychological explanation of the errors of Loisy. At the same time he strikes at the root of the matter when he charges Loisy with making a

<sup>1</sup> *Fausse Exégèse, Mauvaise Théologie*, 1904.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres à l'Abbé Loisy sur quelques points de l'Écriture Sainte*, 7me ed. 1904.

<sup>3</sup> *Se e come i Sinottici ci danno Gesù Cristo per Dio*, 1908, and *Esame d'un opuscolo, il quale gira intorno ad un piccolo libro*, 1904.

<sup>4</sup> Introduction à la *Vie de N.S.J.C.*

separation between History and Theology, which he himself insists are inseparable (p. 10 seq.). He claims that the study of Biblical History must be carried on in subjection to traditional Theology. He concludes by urging Loisy to resume his studies "under the sunlight of tradition." Then he will no longer "despoil Moses of his Pentateuch or St. John of his Gospel" (pp. 165-166).

Palmieri, as a learned theologian, writes from a dogmatic point of view. When Loisy says that a critic cannot follow any different method in the study of Holy Scripture than he applies to other ancient documents, he replies that Holy Scripture must be studied by a different method by every true Catholic, who is restrained from useless and dangerous labours by the magisterial judgment of the Church, to which God has committed the Scriptures.<sup>1</sup> In the course of his discussions, he goes as far as Billot, Professor of Dogmatics in the Jesuit University, the Gregorian, at Rome, who asserts that it is contrary to sound Catholic doctrine to recognize any lack of knowledge whatever in the human mind of Christ. He admits that this has not been affirmed by any distinct and solemn definition of the Church, but that nevertheless it is the common faith of the Church, and must be adhered to by all who would be Catholic, and remain free from heresy.<sup>2</sup>

It is more convenient to consider the case of Loisy and his critics by an examination of the criticism of Frémont, who puts it in a less technical and more popular form.

Frémont makes four serious charges against Loisy, which he tries in every way to sustain. The same essentially are found in Camus and Palmieri, though not so well arranged. These are: (1) Loisy finds no sufficient historical evidence that Jesus taught His disciples that He was divine; (2) Loisy finds no sufficient historical evidence that Jesus rose from the dead on the third day, leaving an

<sup>1</sup> *Esame*, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> *De Verbo incarnato*, ed. 4, 1905, p. 284 seq.

empty tomb; (3) Loisy finds no sufficient historical evidence that Jesus Himself founded His Church before His resurrection; (4) Loisy regards the fourth Gospel as not an historical composition of St. John, but an allegorical and mystical writing of one of his disciples. There can be no doubt that Frémont searches out the most serious difficulties in the position of Loisy, and that these are accurately and fairly stated. We shall consider them in their order.

1. Loisy holds as firmly to the divinity of Jesus Christ as do his critics; but he bases his conviction on the authority of the Apostles and the Church, and not on the immediate teaching of Christ Himself. Frémont, on the other hand, claims that "if Christ did not Himself clearly affirm that He was God, we could never have any means of knowing it" (p. 15).

My studies of the Gospels convince me that Jesus did in fact teach His disciples that He was divine, and that the apostolic doctrine of the divinity of Christ is based on the teachings of the Master Himself.<sup>1</sup>

At the same time, I must admit that this teaching of Jesus is limited to a few statements towards the close of His life; that it is implicit rather than explicit, and that it is not so evident that truth-seeking scholars may not question or even deny it.

Frémont attempts to sustain his position (a) by asserting that the term "Son of God" never had merely Messianic significance (p. 22).<sup>2</sup> Nothing can be more false. The "Son of God" is indeed an older Messianic term than Messiah itself. It is given in the prophecy of Nathan to David.<sup>3</sup> It is constantly used in the New Testament in a purely Messianic sense, and if it has any

<sup>1</sup> See *The Incarnation of the Lord*, 1902, pp. 88 seq.

<sup>2</sup> So Palmieri, *Se e come*, pp. 25 seq.

<sup>3</sup> See my *Messianic Prophecy*, 8th ed. 1902, pp. 127 seq.



other, that must be shown from the context, and cannot be inferred from the term itself.

(b) The statement that the Jews condemned Jesus to death, not because He claimed to be the Messiah, but because He claimed to be divine, rests upon nothing more substantial than the interpretation of the term given above, and the assertion of some modern Jewish rabbis, especially in a private visit made by Frémont to some of them in Paris a short time ago (p. 26). The accusation before the Sanhedrim, the statement of Jesus Himself under oath, which was the ground of His condemnation, and the inscription on the cross, all show that He was condemned as King of the Jews, a false Messiah, and not as a false God.

(c) The argument that the apostolic doctrine of the divinity of Christ cannot be explained except from the teaching of Jesus Himself, is a specimen of specious dialectics which would have disfigured the most hair-splitting Pharisaism. Loisy is only one of many distinguished scholars who find no difficulty in tracing the development of the conception of the divinity of Christ out of the Messianic ideals of the Old Testament. Such a development must have taken place at some time or other, and it is no more difficult to find it in the minds of the apostles after than before the resurrection of Jesus.

The question whether Jesus taught His disciples that He was divine must be answered in the negative, if it can only be sustained by such arguments as these. The most that can be said in the present state of our knowledge is that it is possible that Jesus was conscious of His divinity, and taught it to His disciples toward the close of His life; but it is by no means certain. What right, then, has Bishop Camus to assert that Jesus declared that He was God from the first days of His public life, and that it is heretical to deny it? (p. 123). When has the Catholic

Church declared such a position heretical? And what shall we say of the statement of Frémont, as given above? There is no sufficient evidence to make it certain that Jesus taught His disciples that He was divine. If, as Frémont maintains, no other evidence is competent, then we are forced to the position that it cannot be established at all; and the divinity of Christ can no longer be held as an essential Christian doctrine. Thus Frémont plays into the hands of Harnack.

It is a most remarkable situation that a Roman Catholic divine should make such a statement as this. He asserts that the authority of the Pope, the authority of the Church in its œcumenical councils, are insufficient to establish the divinity of Christ. He represents that the authority of St. Paul, and the other writers of the New Testament, and apostolic traditions are insufficient. Only the authority of Jesus, and that alone, can convince mankind that He is divine. Christianity in this its essence must be built on the words of Jesus in the Gospels, and on these alone. There have been some recent Protestants who have urged to go back to Christ for genuine Christianity, but their views have been rejected by all sober Protestant scholars. The founders of Protestantism and their successors, the Protestant theologians, have insisted that Christianity must be built on the authority of Holy Scripture, and not on the authority of the Church apart from Holy Scripture. They never thought of building Christianity on the words of Jesus alone. It remains for a Roman Catholic divine at the beginning of the twentieth century to do this.

It needs no evidence to show that such a position cannot be approved at Rome. In this case, as in others, the less apparent though dangerous errors of so-called Conservatives, who are loud in their clamour for traditional opinions, are overlooked and condoned, while the minor errors of pro-

gressive scholars are condemned as dangerous because they come into frank and open conflict with superficial and popular traditions.

2. Loisy has no more doubt of the reality of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead than his opponents. He grounds his convictions differently. Loisy says: "The message of Easter (that is to say, the discovery of the empty tomb, and the appearance of Jesus to His disciples, so far as these facts are taken for physical proofs of the Resurrection) is not an irrefutable argument from which the historian can conclude with entire certainty that the Saviour rose in the body from the dead. The case is not one that can supply complete proof" (p. 131). This careful and accurate statement ought not to be questioned. Yet Frémont insists upon the reality of the physical resurrection of Christ, as so firmly established by the narrative of the Gospels, that it is boundless temerity to question it (p. 38).

My studies of the Gospels convince me of the reality of the resurrection of the body of Jesus,<sup>1</sup> yet I cannot say that the evidence is historically so strong that it is temerity to question it, or that it is of essential importance that the evidence should be historically unimpeachable, or that it is necessary to ground the doctrine on the Gospels alone.

It is not altogether reasonable for Frémont to appeal to St. Paul against Loisy, when he himself regards the testimony of the Gospels as alone sufficient and indubitable. But in fact the appeal to St. Paul does not help him, for St. Paul puts all the appearances of Christ which he mentions in the same class as the appearance to himself. The latter occurred some years after the entombment of Christ, and was a Christophany. The statement of St. Paul is that there were many Christophanic appearances of Jesus to the disciples. He does not expressly say that

<sup>1</sup> See *New Light on the Life of Jesus*, pp. 110 seq.

there was a physical resurrection of Jesus from the tomb. Loisy recognizes that "the apostles, even St. Paul, had no conception of an immortality distinct from bodily resurrection. The message of Easter and the faith of Easter have for them the same object and the same significance" (p. 133). But Loisy very properly distinguishes between the two, and this his critics refuse to do.

It is well known that the conclusion of Mark's Gospel is a late addition to it, and that the original Gospel, as it has been preserved for us, gives no such precise statements as to a physical resurrection of Jesus from the tomb as the theory of Frémont demands. The statements of the other Gospels are regarded by critics as coming not from the original Gospels of Mark and Matthew, but as due to the authors of the present Gospels. Under these circumstances they cannot be regarded as historically so unquestionable as to matters of fact as they are as to the faith of the writers and their times. Furthermore, the appearances of Jesus as described in the Gospels are extraordinary. He appears to the disciples and disappears at pleasure. He is not recognized even by His most intimate associates until He makes Himself known. He enters and departs from closed rooms without regard to doors or walls. He rises from the earth and disappears in the sky without regard to the laws of gravitation. Granting the historicity of all these statements, they do not describe such a physical human body as is otherwise known to mankind. They tell of a body of entirely different properties from that of Jesus' before it was laid in the tomb. Was it the same body? If so, in what respect was it the same? Can we truly say that these narrations give indubitable evidence as to a physical resurrection of Jesus, and His empty tomb?

The Christian doctrine of the resurrection of Christ implies the resurrection of the same body of Jesus that was

laid in the tomb, and indeed a resurrection of that body as flesh and blood, and not a merely ghostly body. Loisy does not doubt that any more than his opponents. The simple question is, whether the historical evidence of the observation of the witness is sufficient to prove and verify it apart from the faith of the apostles. Here again it is a remarkable situation that a Roman Catholic divine, in a writing approved by two Cardinals, should depreciate the evidential value of faith, and exaggerate that of the observation of the human senses. Frémont makes the whole doctrine of the Resurrection of Christ rest upon the accuracy of the observations of the witnesses of the resurrection. He does not see, even when Loisy suggests it to him, that those witnesses were all of Christophanic appearances of the risen Christ, and that the inspection of His tomb was limited in the original Mark to three women who are amazed by the appearance of an angel (Mark 16. 1-8), and in the later edition either to Peter alone (Luke 24. 12), or Peter and another unnamed disciple (John 20. 3-9), when in great excitement they ran thither on the report of the Magdalene. Their inspection was not made in any such thoroughness as to make it certain that there was an empty tomb, and there were no witnesses at all of the act of resurrection itself. The narrative of Matthew reports a great earthquake and the angel rolling away the stone door of the tomb in the same way as it narrates the other events; this one having therefore the same historical probability as the other, no more and no less.

However much we may regret the situation, we must make the best of it. If the doctrine of the Resurrection of Jesus must rest upon the accuracy of the observation of the act of physical resurrection, it has slight historical support. It is only when, as Loisy says, we add to it the evidence of the faith of the apostles, that the doctrine of the fact can be assured. Palmieri refuses to make this

distinction,<sup>1</sup> and argues as if all Christophanies were evidences of the bodily resurrection of Jesus, and His empty tomb. It is strange indeed that a divine so learned in other respects, so accustomed to make hair-splitting scholastic distinctions, should be unable to see these evident distinctions of historical criticism. It is indeed an additional evidence to the many others that we have had in recent times that however competent a scholar may be in Scholastic Theology, he may not be so competent in Biblical Theology or Biblical Criticism.

The fact of the resurrection of Jesus Christ from the dead in the same body that was laid in the tomb is in no peril any more than the dogma, unless we persist in insisting that it must rest upon the observation of eye-witnesses, and refuse to take into consideration the evidence of the faith of the apostles. The latter is based upon numerous Christophanic appearances, the essential connection of the resurrection of Christ with the resurrection of mankind, and the implications of other important doctrines of Christianity. What was the precise character of the risen and glorified body of Jesus, as distinguished from His body before it was laid in the grave, is a problem of Theology which has not yet been determined; and it is temerity for dogmatic divines to make rash statements about it.

3. Loisy affirms that the Church was founded by the apostles under the authority of Jesus Christ, but he denies that Jesus Himself founded the Church prior to His resurrection. Frémont, on the other hand, asserts that Christ Himself instituted and founded the Church before His resurrection. "It existed from the moment when Jesus, master of the future as of the present, said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church'" (p. 96). "Behold the words, express and imperishable, which have founded the Church" (p. 97). So Camus: "It is exegeti-

<sup>1</sup> *Esame*, p. 23.

cally false to say that the Church was not directly founded by Him, with its first organization, its government, and the principles of authority necessary to its development in the world" (p. 124). So virtually, though more cautiously, Palmieri.<sup>1</sup>

Frémont is obliged to admit that the Church did not enter into the exercise of its functions until after the ascension of Christ, that Jesus must remain until then the only direct and formal chief of His Church, but insists that St. Peter's appointment as the primate of the Church was the real institution of the Church, even though he did not in fact become its direct and formal chief until the ascension. Surely this is a playing with words. The promise to St. Peter is one thing, the fulfilment of that promise is another. Jesus said, "Upon this rock I *will* build my Church." He did not say, "Upon this rock I *do now* build my Church," which could not have been said in fact before Pentecost. The question is whether Jesus proposed to establish His Church after His resurrection, or whether He in fact established it before His resurrection. Surely there can be but one answer to this question, and that the answer of Loisy, and not that of his critics.

Here again we meet with the same fault that we have found already in this remarkable book, namely, the un-historical and the uncatholic position, that it is necessary to establish the principles of Christianity in the immediate teachings and institutions of Jesus Christ Himself. Granted that Jesus saw in St. Peter the entire system of the papal constitution of the Church; in the Twelve, the entire historical hierarchy; in the gift of the keys, the entire government and discipline of historical Christianity; what matters it, one might say, whether Jesus Himself began to realize His programme by instituting the Church Himself, or whether He instructed His disciples to organize it after

<sup>1</sup> *Esame*, p. 124.

His resurrection? What matters it? It matters much. The former position, that of Frémont and Palmieri, ignores Pentecost, dishonours the work of the Divine Spirit in the apostolic Church, and makes the institution of the Church rest upon Jesus Himself. The latter position, that of Loisy, recognizes the importance of Pentecost, accredits the work of the Divine Spirit in the Church from that time onward, and affirms that the teachings and institutions of the Divine Spirit are as truly those of the risen and glorified Christ, the ever living King and Head of the Church, as the teachings and institutions of the Master before His enthronement were those of the historic Christ.

4. Loisy holds a very special and somewhat peculiar position with reference to the Fourth Gospel, when he asserts that it is altogether allegorical and mystic in its narratives as well as in its discourses. But those who, like Camus and Frémont, insist upon the superficial, traditional theory of the Gospels which the Church has never officially approved, and demand that all study of the Gospels shall be in subordination to that theory, and claim in accordance therewith that the entire Gospel of St. John was written by the Apostle, and that its teachings are to be put on the same level of historicity as those of the Synoptic Gospels—such men as these, laden with antiquated notions, ignoring the investigations of a multitude of scholars for more than a century, are not sufficiently accredited to make a successful exposition of Loisy's errors.

The Fourth Gospel is the most difficult writing in the New Testament. Scholars are greatly perplexed with its problems, and there is no consensus among them. Was this Gospel written by St. John in his old age, or by a disciple under his direction, or by one or more disciples after his death, or can we distinguish an original John underlying the present work of his disciples? I myself



hold the last of these opinions, but I am about as isolated in it as Loisy is in his opinion.

Notwithstanding all this discord as to authorship, there is general consensus in one thing, namely, that the discourses of Jesus as given in the Fourth Gospel are not, either in form or doctrinal substance, exactly those of Jesus Himself. It is commonly recognized that there are strong mystic, allegorical and didactical elements which did not come from the Master. How far do these elements extend? That is the only question. Loisy pushes the allegorical element to such an extreme that few will agree with him. But even so, he is nearer to the facts of the case than those few reactionaries who deny the allegorical element altogether.

Loisy does not deny that this Gospel gives us a true and reliable statement of the faith of the apostolic Church at the close of the first century. He does not deny that its teaching was inspired by the Divine Spirit, or that it interprets correctly the mind of the risen and glorified Lord. What he denies is that Jesus Himself during His earthly life uttered those discourses. However serious the fault of Loisy may be, it is not so serious, or so perilous to Christianity, as that of Camus and Frémont, who insist upon the equal historicity of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptic Gospels, and thus force them into such irreconcilable conflict that they become mutually destructive.

One can hardly believe that such a serious, able and scholarly piece of work as that of Abbé Loisy has been condemned, even if there are minor errors contained in it, when such a writing as that of Frémont, superficial, unscholarly and abounding in serious errors, which undermine and imperil the common faith of the Protestant and Catholic world alike, has been approved by two Cardinal prelates of France, and allowed to appear in a seventh edition without the rebuke of its author by the higher powers.

5. There is one other question in this debate that we cannot ignore, namely, whether Jesus grew in knowledge during His earthly life, and whether He did not know the day or hour of His advent to judgment as Loisy maintains; or whether Jesus from the beginning of His earthly life was omniscient in His human mind, as Palmieri and Billot contend. This question seems to have been determined by the Gospels themselves in favour of Loisy, when they say, "Jesus advanced in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and men" (Luke 2. 52); and, "But of that day or that hour knoweth no one, not even the angels in heaven, neither the Son, but the Father" (Mark 13. 32). And yet Billot does not hesitate to pronounce the views of Loisy heretical, and to insist that the true Catholic doctrine is, that the human mind of Jesus was omniscient from the beginning.<sup>1</sup> He and Palmieri agree that Jesus knew the day and hour of His advent, but that His knowledge was not one that He could communicate to His disciples, and therefore He said to them that He did not know. Thus these Jesuit divines save the omniscience of Christ, but at the expense of His veracity! Loisy's views seem to them to lead to Nestorianism. They are altogether unconscious of the fact that their own views tend still more decidedly towards Monophysitism; for when they make the human mind of Jesus omniscient from the beginning, it differs from the Divine mind not in content, but only in form and in name, and the life of Jesus becomes really a Divine life on earth, of which His human nature is nothing more than a passive vehicle.

The questions in debate between Loisy and His critics are questions in which the entire Christian world is interested. They were raised by Harnack, the chief Church historian of Germany, and they will not be put down. They must be determined in the fair field of scholarly dis-

<sup>1</sup> *De Verbo incarnato*, p. 288 seq.

cussion ; they cannot be determined by an appeal to floating traditions which may be the common opinion and the common teaching of theologians, but have not been verified and endorsed by the Catholic Church.

The solution that Harnack gives is destructive to historic Christianity. He gives a Christianity, as his German critics rightly say, without Christ. He gives a Christianity to which a Jew, or a Mohammedan, or any monotheistic Oriental would find little difficulty in subscribing. Loisy defends against him the rights of faith and of the authority of the Church, at the same time advocating the rights of historical criticism. He endeavours to reconcile them, and give them their legitimate position and relation the one to the other. For this he deserves the thanks of the Christian world. The Church is not to be blamed for refusing to be responsible for many of the positions which he has taken in the course of his frank and searching investigations of the most difficult problems of our age.

The placing of his books on the Index, however mistaken it may be, does not mean anything more than this. It is not a condemnation of Historical Criticism and its methods, and a re-affirmation of the authority of common tradition, as Billot, Palmieri, Frémont and Camus would have it. At the same time, it would be extremely dangerous to the future of Christianity if the Catholic Church should become compromised by an apparent discrediting of his main position in his argument against Harnack, and if the position of his critics should seem to be approved or even condoned. For Christian scholars, Catholic and Protestant alike, are asking such questions as these : Is there no place in the Catholic Church for historic criticism ? Has the common opinion of the Church, in matters that have not been officially defined, to rule in all questions of exegesis and criticism ? Must a Catholic accept the entire tradition as to the authorship, dates and literary characteristics

of the Biblical Books? Is it necessary to hold that the human mind of Jesus was omniscient from birth, and must we hold that opinion even at the cost of recognizing that Jesus was insincere with His Apostle? Is it essential to faith in the divinity of Christ that He should have declared His divinity to His apostles? Must the resurrection of Jesus be based on the testimony of eye-witnesses alone? Does the institution and Divine authority of the Church depend on its immediate institution by Christ Himself before His resurrection? Modern Biblical and historical scholarship answers all these questions in the negative. Roman Catholic scholars in France and Germany, in England and America and in Rome, agree in this respect with Protestant scholars. To answer them in the affirmative, as do the critics of Loisy, forces them into irreconcilable conflict with the best results of modern thought, which are sure to prevail, whatever reactionary theologians, Roman Catholic or Protestant, may say about them. If Loisy's views are destructive, those of his critics are still more so. Loisy's views are destructive of those accretions of error which the common tradition of the Church ever spreads over the substantial verities of Christianity, and they bring out more distinctly the tradition of the original deposit of truth and fact. The theories of his critics are destructive of Christianity itself, because they mingle in the tradition the true and false, and lay such stress upon the false that they imperil the stability of the structure, and make it appear to those scholars and people who are not well grounded in Christian faith that the whole fabric of Christianity is tottering to its fall.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS BRIGGS.

## WELLHAUSEN.

## II.

THE decade that followed Wellhausen's translation to Halle was devoted mainly to Arabic studies. Here too he was actuated by the same high ideal that inspired all his work. The end, which he kept steadily in view, was broad historical construction, with a just sense of the religious motive of the history. But the means to the end was exact scientific study of the original documents.<sup>1</sup> The firstfruits of this appeared in a series of valuable editions and translations of Arabic texts.<sup>2</sup> The harvest was garnered in the *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (1887)—a work of first importance in the field of Comparative Religion, which has inspired, among other notable productions, Robertson Smith's Burnett Lectures on *The Religion of the Semites*—and the more recent studies on the origins and development of Islam.

The *Reste* claims to be but a collection of remains of old Arabic heathenism from the original sources, "gathered and explained" by the author. As such, it displays a fullness of knowledge and first-hand mastery of the subject-matter which have drawn from the veteran Arabist Nöldeke

<sup>1</sup> An interesting glimpse of Wellhausen's ideals of work is obtained in the Introduction to his *Muhammed in Medina*, pp. 24 f.

<sup>2</sup> The first of these was the *Muhammed in Medina* (1882), an abridged translation of Vakidi's *Kitab al Maghazi* (*Book of the Campaigns of the Prophet*), mainly from an unpublished manuscript in the British Museum. This was followed, after the interval of a few years, by a *Heft* (No. 4) of *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, containing a history of Medina before Islam (from Arabic sources), a translation of Mohammed's laws for the government of Medina and its community, and an edition and translation of his letters and embassies (1889). Meantime he had written a first sketch of the history of Islam in his Article *Mohammed and the First Four Caliphs* (*Encyc. Brit.* 1883), and edited and translated the interesting *Lieder der Hudhailiten*, the only extant collection of Arabic tribal poetry (1884). The translation of these songs admirably reflects the rush and clash of battle, and the pride of victory, mingled with the wail of the mourners and the homeless, of the old Arabic poetry.

the judgment that the author "has put himself as completely into the life and thought of the old Arabs as though he had been an Arabic scholar, and nothing else, all his life."<sup>1</sup> But the book is far more than a mere collection. It is a scientific and philosophical study of ethnic religion of singular power and insight.

The "necessary and most characteristic sign of an Arab place of worship" Wellhausen finds in the sacred stone (*nuṣḥ* or *manṣab*), which served as altar, but was really the house of the god worshipped there (*beth-el*). Near the stone were usually found the outside appurtenances of a "god's house": the sacred pit or cave (*ghabghab* or *'ab'ab*), where the blood of sacrifices was shed and dedicatory gifts kept, and usually too a sacred spring or stream, and a sacred tree, on which other gifts were hung. The space enclosing the whole—bounded by other sacred stones (likewise called *nuṣḥ*)—was the sanctuary (*himā* or *haram*), the special haunt of the god. This *himā*, and not the stone, was the original sacred place; for the god had his "haunting-ground" before he had a definite "house" set up.

At these sacred places the gods were worshipped chiefly by kissing, stroking and pressing the stone—in order to receive holiness from the contact—but the most significant rite in the old Arabic cultus was the procession round the stone (*hagg*), which took place at the special festivals (especially at Ragab, the spring festival), and was accompanied by joyful shouts (*tahlil*), and at certain sanctuaries by the throwing of small stones on a sacred heap (*gab*). The worship was usually accompanied by offerings to the god, in thanksgiving for past mercies or to woo his favour. Among these offerings were found arms, (especially swords) and clothes, which were suspended on the sacred tree, also hair, which was laid upon the stone; but the principal

<sup>1</sup> Review in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, 1887, pp. 707 ff.

offering—the sacrifice, in the strictest sense—was the blood of slaughtered animals, which was either smeared on the stone or poured into the sacred pit. Here too Wellhausen finds, in part, the idea of a gift to the god; but the dominant idea is that of the establishment of a covenant, or bond of brotherhood, between the worshipper and the god. Among the Arabs, as among all Semitic peoples, blood is the “cement of the closest bond of brotherhood.” In sacrifice, therefore, when he sheds blood upon the stone or into the sacred pit, the Arab worshipper brings himself into—or maintains—the closest relation of friendship, indeed union of life, with his god. Here Wellhausen finds the root idea in all Semitic sacrifice.<sup>1</sup>

In later sections of the book, the author deals with other significant personalities and rites of ancient Arabic religion: the priest (*kāhin*), the keeper of the sanctuary, who also declared the oracles of the god; the seer (also called *kāhin*), the ecstatic, supposed to be indwelt by a god or demon, who foretold the future and interpreted the unknown—the spiritual ancestor of both the prophet and the poet; the rites connected with holiness and purity; the significance of the name, as bearing the full potency of the personality; the notion of the next life as that of a feeble and shadowy existence, from which there was no hope of salvation; and the strange superstitions associated with the world of lower heathenism, the common substratum of ethnic religions.

Even this meagre sketch will show the importance of such researches for the adequate understanding of the history of Israel. Many of the most characteristic elements of Hebrew ritual are evident analogues—corresponding not only in practice, but even in name—of similar rites in the old heathen cultus of Arabia. In a closing summary Wellhausen compares them in detail, and traces both sets

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, *passim*.

of practices back to one common origin in primitive Semitic conditions. The last chapter of the book, in which he traces the development of Arabian religion, is also full of suggestion for the student of Israel's religion.

For long ages before Mohammed the chief objects of Arab worship were the heavenly bodies—or rather the spirits that dwelt in these. The connexion between these bodies and specific “sacred places” was explained by legends of the descent of the gods from heaven to earth. In reality, the localization of worship points back to an earlier stage when these sacred places were supposed to be the haunts of demons or genii (*ginn* and *ghāl*), towards whom mortal men stood in vague terror. The worship of the higher powers was an upward step in the religious history of the Arabs. The ascent synchronizes with the giving of names to the gods. Nameless gods were beyond men's worship. For among the Arabs, too, the name of the god expressed “the whole content of his manifestation.” The gods they could name were gods they knew and could approach in worship. With this, religious life—in the full sense of communion with the powers above—began. This stage of Arabic religion, however, was grossly polytheistic. Worshippers of the same heavenly powers worshipped them at different places and under different names. Accordingly, *quot gentes, tot dii*. But as time went on, the practice of pilgrimage to the great centres of worship, like Mecca, created a tendency towards Monotheism. Thus, even before Islam, Allah—a name expressing the general idea of Godhood—came to be recognized as the supreme God of the Arabs. The same epoch saw a general breaking up of the old heathenism. The worship of the gods was neglected, and even scoffed at. The festivals became mere occasions for jollity and gain. Religion, which had never had much moral influence over the heathen Arabians, lost what little it had. The only real faith was



a fatalism which, with the Arabs, was no doctrine of slothful indifference, but on the contrary "the spring of desperate energy." But the life they lived was wholly in the world and for the world.

The age before Islam saw a stirring of the spirit. The nobler souls were "divinely discontented" with the present state of existence. Many were overwhelmed and driven almost to despair by a deep sense of the vanity of all human effort and the inevitable fate of death and dissolution. Out of the depths they cried for something real and enduring, some worthy end and aim in life. At this time of transition, when the old order was passing away, but the new had not yet come to take its place, Jewish and Christian influences began to be felt. The Jews had long had colonies in Arabia. These were not aggressive, yet they scattered seeds of spiritual influence around them. In the North, Christianity—in its Nestorian or Monophysite form—had also made ground, and was exerting a silent influence on the thought and culture of Arabia far beyond its direct results. "Had Islam not intervened," Wellhausen believes, "in all probability the whole of North Arabia, from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, would within a short time have become Christian." As it was, there was found in Mecca a body of Hanife ("seekers after truth"), who were diligent students of the law and the Gospels, and—while they attached themselves neither to Judaism nor to Christianity—were yet full of sympathy for the higher faith. And this was no isolated phenomenon, but "the symptom of a mood which was wide-spread over Arabia, and had laid hold of many of the noblest spirits."

Wellhausen controverts the current idea that the real roots of Islam are found in Judaism. He acknowledges its influence, especially in the Moslem ideal of the theocracy. But he derives the dominant principles of Islam—its moral monotheism, its severe asceticism, its insistence on personal

responsibility, and its cardinal conceptions of judgment, heaven and hell—from Christianity, as represented by the Christian ascetics of the desert. Christianity was the leaven, though “much of the meal which was afterwards added came from Judaism.” But while Islam owes thus much to influences from without, it is none the less the true and full end (*Abschluss*) of the inner development of Arabic religion. It stands, indeed, in strong contrast to the polytheism and profanity of life of the old heathenism. But it has its roots there, and works up the past into the texture of its own life. “The Allah of Muhammed only helps the Allah of the old Arabs to realize all that is involved in his own being.”

In recognition of the eminent services he had thus rendered to Semitic scholarship, Wellhausen was called in 1892 to succeed de Lagarde in the chair of Oriental languages in Göttingen. The following year he signalized his definite return to Old Testament studies by his *Commentary on the Minor Prophets* (1893). This opens a series of characteristic Commentaries on books of the Old and New Testaments. Without a word of preface or introduction—only a simple dedication to his younger colleague and friend, Rudolf Smend—the author introduces his translation of the prophets, followed by short notes. The translation is done in Wellhausen’s own style: simple, fresh and terse. The plainest and most direct words are used. Expressive colloquialisms are freely admitted. Instead of thus marring the “words” of the prophets, the renderings are full of force, and often singularly appropriate. For, after all, these men of God were also men of the people, who spoke to the heart and mind of the people. In the notes, the author works along lines he had laid down years before in an interesting review of Delitzsch’s *Job* (*Th. Litzg.* 1877). There he maintains that it is not the part of a good commentator to try to explain every-

thing, far less to gloss over difficulties by plausible, but unreal, "explanations." His ideal ought rather to be "to sharpen the conscience." In dealing with uncertainties in the text, the confession *non liquet* is often a duty. Instead of explaining away, the commentator ought to bring the difficulty clearly to view, thus allowing more light to be shed on it—perhaps only after many days. The Commentary on the *Minor Prophets* is an admirable illustration of this principle. There is no pretence of solving all the difficulties. Wellhausen does his honest best; but he is not ashamed to leave *lacunæ* in the text, with the confession that the difficulties are to him insoluble. He is careful, however, to give reasons for his failure, and to suggest the general lines of a true solution, so that we often learn more from Wellhausen's ignorance than from some other scholars' "omniscience." But even apart from this, he makes no attempt at completeness. All that is self-evident is studiously omitted. Much even that we would fain find, we miss. Wellhausen gives only what he feels he can give with profit. Within these limits the Commentary is full of learning, insight and suggestion, as well as acute criticism. The author's exact scholarship appears on every page. He already turns his Arabic reading to good account in throwing light on obscure Hebrew constructions and ideas. But the finest parts of the Commentary are the appreciations of the prophets' literary style, and especially their religious and prophetic character and experience.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> He has some fine remarks on Amos' literary style, which appeals strongly to his own bent of mind (pp. 67 ff.). He has also placed the exposition of Joel, for the first time, on a sound basis. As he saw, Joel is not really an early prophet, but the first of the apocalyptists. "Here we have genuine eschatology, already dogmatically fixed in its main outlines." (pp. 219 f.). But perhaps the finest pages in the book are those in which he deals with the tragedy of Hosea's life. Here he works out suggestions he had already made in his edition of Bleek's *Einleitung*, which are now universally accepted as the only satisfactory explanation of the mystery. The experience shadowed in chaps. i. and iii. is no

For Wellhausen never allows us to lose sight of the real personality of the prophets in the minute study of their works. For him they are living men who heard the word of God, and can make known that word to us. And the chief end of his Commentary is to make their message more clear and convincing.

The following year saw the publication of the great work to which all his previous studies had been preparatory : *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte* (1894). This book is an acknowledged classic, alike in conception and in expression. It is distinguished from other Histories (like Kittel's and Stade's), at the first glance, by its freedom from critical and other learned material. Wellhausen had already laid his critical foundations in his *Prolegomena* ; now he gives his whole strength to the superstructure. This undoubtedly adds to the impressiveness of the work. But its real greatness is seen in the presentation of the subject-matter. The narrative is concise, and often rapid ; characters are drawn in a few graphic strokes ; the whole history of Israel is set forth in some four hundred pages. But the hand of the master is evident throughout. His learning is wide and accurate ; his historical judgment we feel to be sound, even where we differ from his

parable, but a dire reality. Hosea did marry a wife, Somer bath Diblaim, who afterwards proved unfaithful to him, but whom he still loved with an unquenchable love. It was this tragedy of the heart that enabled him to feel something of the love with which Jahve loved His people in spite of their sins, and so made him specifically the prophet of Divine love and mercy. Thus he felt that Jahve had called him to pass through the sad experience for this very end. Only he was not conscious of all this when he was first called to be a prophet. In writing down the record of his call, he has read into it all that he afterwards found to be involved in the experience. But though Hosea understood the full meaning of his call only after the lapse of several years, it was all present to the Divine intention from the outset. In this sense, he could represent Jahve as really saying to him : "Go, take unto thee a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom ; for the land doth commit great whoredom, departing from Jahve" (pp. 105 ff.)

conclusions; he has a just sense of proportion, and a true feeling for the glory and the tragedy of Israel's history. The style is that which we already know—brought by practice to a fine perfection. The author writes directly from the fulness of his mind and heart. On this very account, the language is far more adapted to the movement of the wonderful drama than the most ambitious rhetoric. At the great moments it rises to the height of real eloquence—the outcome of fine feeling worthily expressed.

Wellhausen is seen at his best in dealing with the religion which was the real soul of Israel's history. He eliminates the miraculous; but he has a true sense of the spiritual and Divine.

The early religion of Israel was not far elevated above that of its neighbours. The main features of its cultus were the common stock of the Semitic nations. Certain inveterate popular practices—like necromancy and divination—were relics of still older heathen superstitions. Other elements came from the Canaanite nations among whom Israel's destiny was cast. Even Jahve may be likened, in many respects, to the gods of Ammon and Moab. He was the God of Israel, whose worship and moral authority and grace were confined to the bounds of His own people. Yet even at this early stage there were vital distinctions. As the motive of conduct, religion was nowhere so pure and strong as in Israel. And Jahve, the God of Israel, was from the beginning a living God, who revealed Himself through living men to living men. In this vital principle Wellhausen finds the potency of the whole future development. Through the living Spirit of God that dwelt in it, the religion of Israel rose clear above the undergrowth of superstition and sensuality that threatened to choke it, burst the narrow bonds of nationalism that would have involved it in its own destruction,

and became in the fulness of time completely developed ethical monotheism.

The personalities of the prophets— who led this movement—are portrayed with sympathy and power: Moses, the “guiding spirit,” without whom “the creation of the nation under the aegis of Jahve” cannot be understood; Elijah, “the most colossal figure in the gallery of Bible heroes” (*die grandioseste Heldengestalt in der Bibel*), who so nobly championed the cause of Jahve as “a Lord, with whose service that of no other lord was compatible,” who was the very “antithesis in principle” of Baal and all foreign accretions, and who—though the God of Israel—yet “had His own eternal nature quite independently of His people, and was not identified with their passing wishes and aims”; Amos—whose dirge-like notes struck such discord into the joyful strains of the worshippers of Bethel—the prophet of righteousness, who proclaimed that “right is right and wrong is wrong, everywhere and always,” and that Jahve demands “righteousness, and nought but righteousness,” and would vindicate the right even amid the ruins of His people; Hosea, the prophet who heard the voice of Jahve in the shame and sorrow of his home, and was led by the love he still bore for his sinful wife to be the messenger of Divine love and mercy to Jahve’s sinful people; and Isaiah, the commanding statesman-prophet, who, “with a certain tragical joy and heroism of faith,” piloted the little state of Judah safely through the storms that overwhelmed her sister, and thereafter, by his ideals and personal influence, laid the foundations of the new Judah that was to be—the “remnant” that should emerge from the fires of trial a “holy seed” consecrated to Jahve’s purpose.

But the gem of all is the portraiture of Jeremiah, “the last and in many respects the greatest of the prophets.” “In him Amos and Hosea came to life again; only he

united in himself the qualities by which they were distinguished. He shattered without mercy the illusions of the popular faith; with angry scorn he unmasked the hollowness of the prophecies of peace—stolen from foreign models—which his fellow-prophets delivered to order. So far, indeed, did he carry his opposition to them that he laid down the rule that the true prophets had always been, from the beginning, prophets of calamity—that and nothing else. In his struggle against the fanaticism of the popular patriots he shrunk not even from appearing a traitor to his country. But, with the iron spirit of defiance with which he thus confronted kings and princes, priests and prophets and populace in the name of Jahve, he yet felt deep and warm sympathy for his people. His heart bled when, in the name of Jahve, he had to shut the door against the community that prayed so pathetically for rain, and threaten them with yet worse calamities than famine. He almost broke down when he saw, floating always before his vision, the desert into which the flourishing land was soon to be changed, over which no bird flew, and in the weary waste of which no sound of the mill-stones by day and no glimmer of light by night gave sign of life. He suffered, even to despair, under the sense of loneliness—not spiritual alone—in which his knowledge of the truth involved him. He cursed his birth, because his fellowship with Jahve cut him off from every other fellowship. His inner life was a constant conflict of soul, a constant overcoming of himself—his human wishes and sympathies—through Jahve. Willingly, at times, would he have thrown down his commission; but ever again was he ‘enticed’ back by an irresistible impulse. When Jahve’s words were found, he did eat them; and they appeared unto him a joy and the rejoicing of his heart.”

The spiritual results of his life-work are thus described. “The more he called, the further they fled from him; they

would not, they could not, be converted. His earnest efforts to fill up the gulf that separated Jahve from His people but made a deep cleft between himself and them. His labours upon the people were all in vain. But for himself they were not in vain. Through the failure of his prophecy he was raised above prophecy. The message he had to declare for Jahve might bring him despite and persecution; yet the fact that Jahve spoke to him sustained and revived him. That he suffered for His sake was comfort to his soul. When rebuffed by men, he fled back for refuge to Him who had chosen him as His messenger, and thus opened for him the way of approach to Himself. His despised prophecy became for him the bridge to an inward communion with God. From his public vocation as mediator between Jahve and Israel there arose—since Israel would have none of it—a private and personal relation of religious intimacy between himself and Jahve, in which he was not the mere channel through whom Jahve revealed Himself to Israel, but in which rather he unbosomed himself, in all the fulness of his human nature, before Jahve. This habit of conversation with Jahve, in which his soul poured itself out, was not confined to moments of enthusiasm, but became the abiding necessity of his nature, the bread on which he lived. Amid sorrow and travail was born the sure conviction of his personal fellowship with God, and thus the inmost essence of religion came to the light with him. . . . His experience continued to reproduce and repeat itself in the experiences of the pious after him. That which moved and exercised his soul moved and exercised the souls also of the noblest spirits in Judaism: the suffering of the righteous, and the working of the power of God in the hearts of the humble and despised. He is the father of true prayer, in which the poor soul expresses alike its overwhelming (*lit. sub-human, untermenschliches*) sorrow and its superhuman



confidence, its fears and doubts and its immovable faith. Without Jeremiah the Psalms would not have been composed. The language of the pious in after ages was moulded after his, and many images of spiritual poetry were chosen from the tragic fortunes of his life. Thus from prophecy was evolved not only the Law, but at the end also personal religion." <sup>1</sup>

The chapter on the Jewish piety of the post-exilic period shows the same delicate insight into spiritual experience. "In the chaos of the world-empire, in which the separate nations, with their religious faiths and systems of morality, were dissolved, the faithful servants of Jahve stood fast, like a rock in the sea," believing that their God would not forsake them in old age, but would yet restore them to glorious life and power, and make even their sufferings to work out their good and the salvation of the nations. The disillusionment of the Restoration only quickened and intensified their hope. God would not leave them under the heel of their heathen oppressors, but would come from heaven and establish His Kingdom in their midst, and make them lords over their oppressors. But the "salvation of Jahve" came not; the heathen continued to lord it over them, and many even from within the community of Israel joined the ranks of "the wicked." At the same time, their faith in God's moral government was exposed to many a rude shock. The quintessence of Jewish faith was: "God helps and saves the righteous, and destroys the wicked." But they saw the righteous suffer and the wicked flourish.

<sup>1</sup> I remember, several years ago, consulting the late Professor Davidson about Jeremiah literature. He told me there was more in these few pages from Wellhausen than in everything else that had been written on the subject put together. I was therefore much interested, in the course of a conversation with Wellhausen in Göttingen the following summer, to hear him say that he considered this the best bit of the book. The subject, he said, had been long simmering in his mind; then he wrote it off; and, while he was continually altering other parts, "this I cannot improve."

And with all their persistence in faith and prayer, the lots were not reversed. "Where then," they could not but ask at times, "was the righteousness of God?" "They tried in all possible ways to twist and force experience into harmony with their dogmatic principle. They gave away the cause of the pious brother whose life ended in misfortune, and counted him in consequence a godless man. In their own hours of need and affliction they took the whole blame upon themselves, in order to impute no wickedness to God and still acknowledge His righteous rule. They even exaggerated the universal sinfulness of men in order to rescue the principle." "But the principle could not be rescued thus. The evidence of experience was on the side of the wicked. The martyrdom of the righteous could not be denied, and thus became a real problem of religion." Heroic attempts were made to solve the problem; but it could not be solved. Yet from the depths of doubt and almost despair the soul rose to a new sense of fellowship with God. "The subjective experience of fellowship with God became for the righteous a power by which they defied all the facts of outward experience. Thus the despised and stricken servant of Jahve triumphed over the world, the crushed and broken heart was inspired and filled with the life and power of God Almighty in the heavens."

At the close of the chapter, Wellhausen compares the God of Jewish monotheism with the God of Greek philosophy. "The line the Jewish spirit thus followed converged with the line the Greek spirit took from about the sixth century B.C. In both we find a pronounced opposition to heathenism. To call Empedocles or Aeschylus or (above all) Socrates a heathen would be to rob the word of all meaning. . . . In a certain sense, too, monotheism itself is philosophy, as being the result of a vast spiritual abstraction. The only marvel is, that to the Jews their God never became a mere abstraction, but remained the most living of

personalities. Thus they kept alive their religion, as a might which laid hold of and influenced their whole being, dominating their convictions and conduct, in a very different way from the philosophy of the Greeks, which usually showed a remarkable tolerance towards the ordinary popular belief in God."

The chapter on "The Gospel" is pervaded by a spirit of true reverence for Jesus' character and work. In the few sentences we can quote, Wellhausen writes: "He lives a simple and open life, free from all earthly care; in the poetry of the South, not in want and degrading poverty. His meekness is coupled with severity; He can be angry as well as gentle. By the sharp sting of His irony, He lets His enemies feel His personal superiority; He sometimes loses patience even with His disciples. He delights in children, birds and flowers. He learns from everything. He finds in nature the secrets of the Kingdom of heaven. He reads them also in His own heart and in the hearts of others. He has never studied in the schools; He is master of the Scriptures without having learned them from the Rabbis, and He preaches like one called, and not as the scribes. He needs not to spend long time in meditation, nor to wait for inspiration from above; the Spirit is always with Him, ideas and words come to Him unsought, and in every word He utters His whole personality is expressed. His speech is not the excited utterance of the prophet, but the calm language of the wise. He gives expression only to what every honest soul must feel. What He says is no strange doctrine, but plain truth,—as He believes, nothing but what is found already in Moses and the prophets. But His charming simplicity distinguishes Him from Moses and the prophets, and separates Him whole worlds from the disciples of the Rabbis. He is not oppressed by the burden of the past, under which the Jews groan. Deep under the rubbish

that has accumulated above it, He finds the living spring whose waters have gathered through the deposit of centuries of spiritual experience. He rejects all that is adventitious, caricatured and dead, and focuses the eternally-valid, the Divine-human, in His own individuality. *Ecce homo*—a Divine miracle at such a time and in such an environment.<sup>1</sup> . . .

"The influence of Jesus on His disciples was so deep and abiding that His being was woven into their lives, and became their new, better Self. To Him they ascribed all that was due to His inspiration, convinced that there was nothing good in them that came not from Him. They needed not to direct their lives by painfully striving to follow His example. He lived in them, and His Spirit led them into all truth. The life they had received from Him propagated itself in others as well, and thus the Spirit of Jesus became the unity in which many spirits were bound together. It is the greatest example of the creative power of the soul. In this region, moral precepts, warnings and rebukes have no effect; a living example (*Vorleben*) is the one thing needful. What the Law cannot do, the individual type does. The character of God cannot be apprehended in a barren idea; men of God are His revelation—through their words and deeds, their joys and sorrows." Such were the prophets; but Jesus "was more than a prophet; in Him was the Word made flesh."

Wellhausen has a just sense also of the importance of Paul as "the man who really understood the Master and continued His work," and a fine paragraph on the influence

<sup>1</sup> "Jewish scholars try to explain away the difference, or rather the wrathful opposition, between Jesus and the Pharisees, by asserting that all that He said is found also in the Talmud. Yes, and *a great deal more*, πλέον ἡμῶν πάντος. Jesus' originality consists in this, that He perceived and brought to light and expressed with the strongest emphasis the true and eternal that lay concealed in the chaotic waste of Judaism." (Author's note.)

of Christ on His Church and human society. He closes the chapter by the following interesting confession of a believing spirit: "Man does not live by bread alone; the means of life are not its end. Culture is tyranny intolerable when it refuses to recognize the individual and the hidden secrets of his heart. The progress of the race is, beyond a certain point, not the progress of the individual—happily not. I am not a mere part of the mass of mankind, a product of my time and environment, as science proclaims in tones of triumph—as though there were cause to triumph in that! In the centre of my being I touch the eternal. True, I must win and unfold this inner life for myself. And to this end I must, above all else, *believe* in it; I must believe that *I* do not perish in the mill in which I am driven about and bruised, but that GOD stands behind and above the mechanism of the world, that He can work upon my soul, can draw it upwards to Himself and help it to reach its own ideal, and that He is the living bond of an unseen and eternal fellowship of spirits. 'Man does not live by demonstration, but by faith.' Faith in freedom and faith in God are one and the same. Both freedom and God are found only by faith. But faith need not be troubled. Faith is certainty."

No one can read the *Geschichte* without feeling that we are here in contact with a man of fine spiritual insight and sympathy, the outcome of a living faith in God. And this is the true Wellhausen. He has indeed advanced beyond the orthodoxy of his earlier years. He lost it "without a pang." But he is a deeply reverent and religious man, who "has never lost his faith in the almighty, righteous and gracious God," nor doubted that He has really revealed Himself to His children. And this faith has been the inspiration of his life work on the history of Israel. For in that history he finds the living God unfolding His mind and character and will to men. God not only spoke through His servants the

prophets, but in the whole forward movement of the spirit in Israel He was expressing Himself and leading men on to know Him as He is. And the end of all Wellhausen's work is to set forth this revelation with convincing clearness. But he has an open eye also for the revelation of God among other peoples and in other ways. This is the real meaning of a strange statement in Schaff's *Lexicon of Living Divines*, that Wellhausen's religious faith is "monotheism and polytheism at one and the same time." By this he means: "God has revealed Himself in Israel, but among the Gentiles as well. Likewise, the Good (*das Moralische*) is sovereign, yet the Beautiful, in all its manifold variety, (*die Mannigfaltigkeit des Aesthetischen*), has also its right, which ought not to be so severely repressed by the moral element as it is among the Jews. *Et hic sunt dii, πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως.*"<sup>1</sup>

The most conspicuous quality in Wellhausen's personal character is, perhaps, his downrightness. He is a man who hates, above all things, cant and unreality. But for all that is honest and true he has sincere respect. In spite of certain hard words spoken and written in the heat of conflict, he is among the most generous of men. Old students remember him with affection as one of the kindest, as well as most inspiring, of teachers. He has all the modesty and simplicity of the truly great. We take the liberty of quoting a sentence from one of his letters: "A day-labourer, who used to work in my father's garden, made me his heir. Of all the honours that have fallen to me, this inheritance is the one of which I am proudest."

Since the publication of the *Geschichte* Wellhausen has been pursuing his studies with the same unremitting devotion, and sharing the fruits of his ripe knowledge and reflection with the world. Of late years his interest has been

<sup>1</sup> The quotations on this page are from private letters of Wellhausen to the writer.

turning more and more round two main centres : the origins of Islam and the Gospel.<sup>1</sup> May we hope for two great books on these supreme subjects? A history of early Christianity from the pen of Wellhausen would be a real event in theology. It would not, indeed, satisfy orthodox standards ; but it would be serious, reverent, and full of light.

ALEX. R. GORDON.

THE LIFE OF CHRIST ACCORDING TO ST.  
MARK.<sup>2</sup>

XXXIV. THE ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, XI. 1-11.

WHEN the blind man had obtained the boon he sought, and had fallen into the train of Jesus, the company moved on, impressed and excited by the fact that the title "Son of David" had been publicly given to Jesus and publicly accepted by Him, and that His claims had been confirmed by a miracle. In time they came within two miles of Jerusalem to the slopes of the Mount of Olives in the neighbourhood of two villages called Bethany and Bethphage. The distance from Jericho to Jerusalem is about

<sup>1</sup> In his own department of Old Testament, his most important recent work is his edition of *Psalms* in the *Polychrome Bible* (1895), with translation in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament* (1898), and further *Notes in Skizzen u. Vorarbeiten*, Heft vi. (1899). On Islam, after various preparatory studies, he has published *Das Arabische Reich und sein Sturz* (1902)—a vivid sketch of the first great act in the wonderful drama of Islam. To New Testament scholarship he has contributed a *Skizze* on the "Son of Man" problem (in the same *Heft* as the *Notes* on the *Psalms*), and within the last two years characteristic commentaries on Mark, Matthew, and Luke. But we cannot here enter on any just estimate of these works.

<sup>2</sup> These studies do not profess to be an adequate historical and doctrinal account of Christ, but are an attempt to set forth the impression which St. Mark's account of our Lord would make on a reader whose only source of information was the Second Gospel, and who knew nothing of Christian dogmatics.

eighteen miles; and in view of the many events crowded into this busy day it would seem that Jesus started very early, according to the common Eastern fashion, and rested near Bethany in the heat of the day to prepare for His solemn entry into the Holy City. His preparations were slight and simple; He intended to ride into Jerusalem, and sent two of His disciples to bring Him an animal to ride upon. The incident is told in fuller detail and at greater length than its intrinsic importance would warrant. No doubt St. Mark's authority was one of the two disciples. As the story is given some mystery attaches to the transaction. The disciples were to go to the opposite village, and as they entered they would find tied up by the roadside an ass's colt,<sup>1</sup> that had never yet been ridden. They were to loose it and bring it. If any one challenged them, they were to answer, "The Master needs it, and will send it back at once." Jesus, it seems, had arranged that the colt should be waiting for Him at a fixed spot, and that His messengers should be allowed to take it away on giving a password previously agreed upon. The owner of the colt would be some sympathiser with Jesus who had not publicly identified himself with Him. There must have been many who admired Jesus and appreciated His teaching, and yet did not enrol themselves amongst His avowed followers. Some lacked courage; others were not fully convinced of His right to the unique authority which He claimed. This passage and one or two others bring us into contact with an outer fringe of loosely attached disciples.

The method in which the messengers were to obtain possession of the colt was intended to protect the owner. No one gave the colt; it was taken; neither Jesus nor the

<sup>1</sup> The Greek word, *polon*, is strictly "colt," as R.V., but the occasion, a solemn peaceful procession, and the usage in Hellenistic Greek (Swete) would suggest that the animal was an ass's colt, apart from the other Gospels.



owner was named ; and the disciples were not told to whom the animal belonged. The possible presence of a traitor in their number would naturally occur both to Jesus and to His friend ; and accordingly precautions were taken to prevent the premature betrayal of His plans, and to protect the owner of the colt from punishment for complicity with them.

The two disciples went to the village, and everything happened as they had been told. The colt was brought to Jesus, and His followers provided it with rude trappings and housings by placing their upper garments upon it, and Jesus sat thereon. The arrangements were suitable to the occasion ; the ass was the animal used by dignified persons for peaceable ceremonies ; and the fact that the colt had never before been used would suggest the peculiar sanctity of the present rider, and the sacred importance of His entry into Jerusalem. Meantime the crowd had learned the purpose of Jesus, and His disciples were no longer restrained from declaring Him the Messiah. The enthusiasm of the people had already been kindled by the healing of the blind man ; so that they lent a ready ear to the apostles when they proclaimed Jesus the Messiah, the Redeemer and King of Israel, and announced that He was about to enter the Holy City, to ascend the throne of David, and establish the Kingdom of God. With ecstatic fervour men stripped themselves of their outer garments and threw them on the road to provide a fitting pathway for the Son of David, while others strewed branches in the way.

So the procession moved on to Jerusalem with Jesus in their midst ; and those who went before and those who followed after shouted,

“Hosanna—Grant salvation,  
Blessed be He that cometh in the name of the Lord,  
Blessed be the Kingdom that cometh, the Kingdom of our  
father David,  
Hosanna in the highest.”

After this graphic picture the bald sentence which follows is an anti-climax, "And He went into Jerusalem into the temple; and He surveyed everything, and as it was already late, He went out to Bethany with the Twelve." Apparently the actual entry into Jerusalem was not so dramatic as the start of the procession. There were many entering Jerusalem at that time, and Jesus would not be the only distinguished person amongst them; there would be others too who would be received with acclamation. As Jesus approached and entered the city, His following became merged in other companies, and reached the temple without attracting much notice. Otherwise it would be difficult to understand how a procession acclaiming its leader as the Messiah passed the gate of the city without being challenged.

At the temple, then, He looked about upon all things with the curious interest of a provincial viewing the sights of a great capital. Meanwhile the disciples had been expecting some act by which He would assert His Messianic sovereignty; a miracle or sign from heaven; or perhaps public recognition by the priests, the Sanhedrim, and other Jewish authorities, to be followed by a victorious attack upon the Roman garrison. When Jesus passed the gates and nothing happened, except that He directed His steps towards the temple, they would reflect that the temple was the place where the manifestation of the Messiah would rightly take place. But nothing happened at the temple, and as the long and weary day was now drawing to its close, Jesus left the city, and went out to Bethany and spent the night there, either for the sake of being with friends, or to avoid the dangers that beset Him in Jerusalem. He had come to offer Himself a public sacrifice, not to court the dagger of some midnight assassin hired by His enemies; but probably He left Jerusalem simply because He had no accommodation there for Him-

self and His followers and had arranged to return to Bethany, if He were still alive and at liberty at nightfall. The disciples followed Him burdened with hope once more deferred; the great day had come and gone; He had been publicly proclaimed Messiah, but nothing decisive had been done; the evening found them again at Bethany, and the Kingdom of God was no nearer than it had been in the morning.

As to the mind of Jesus at this time, we get most light from His repeated declarations that He would suffer at Jerusalem as a criminal. He, at any rate, did not look for any blazing splendour from heaven, or for any deputation of priests offering Him the keys of the Temple on bended knees. For the moment, indeed, there may have flashed across His imagination a wild fancy of some Divine intervention which would render His sacrifice unnecessary and inaugurate the Kingdom of God in happier fashion. But He would not dwell on such pictures; we must believe that His stern purpose was never abandoned even for a moment and was seldom absent from His mind. Probably when He entered Jerusalem, He did not expect to leave it again a free man, but rather looked for arrest or even for death that very night, and He went out to Bethany burdened because He had more hours to spend under the shadow of the Cross, made more grim by the cheerful hopes and eager excited anticipations of disciples who were looking for dignified posts in the Kingdom.

XXXV. THE SECOND DAY IN JERUSALEM, XI. 12-19.

(a) *The Cursing of the Barren Fig Tree; 12-14.* We are not told how Jesus and His disciples spent the night at Bethany; possibly after the fatigue of the long day all slept soundly through exhaustion; possibly Jesus betook Himself to prayer so solitary that His followers did not suspect His vigils. At last the new day dawned and they

set out again for Jerusalem. After the manner of Orientals Jesus took little or nothing before He started, and while He was yet on His way to the city He became hungry. Seeing a fig-tree, He went to it expecting to find figs, but there were none.<sup>1</sup> Nature herself seemed to have foiled Him when He sought her succour. The tree stood there the very type of a Pharisee ostentatious and barren, or like a disciple lavish of loyal profession but lacking understanding and sympathy. He solemnly cursed the tree in the hearing of His disciples, "May no one ever again eat fruit of thee."

(b) *The Cleansing of the Temple ; 15-19.* They went on to Jerusalem, entered the City, and passed on to the Temple, without any noteworthy incident. In the Temple courts they found a busy scene ; the feast was the occasion of a great fair, at which the pilgrims could buy birds and animals for sacrifices, and obtain the sacred coins which alone were accepted in payment of the Temple tribute. Tricks of trade were rife : the merchants of the capital matched their wits against those of their provincial customers. They perhaps trusted that the pilgrims would be awed by the sanctity of the place and season, and would abate something of the noisy importunity of Eastern bargaining and allow the sellers to make an exorbitant profit.

Jesus had surveyed the scene the evening before. On both occasions He may have witnessed sharp practice, chicanery, the hungry eagerness for gain. Now, perhaps, some one who thought himself aggrieved appealed to the Galilean Prophet ; the buyers and sellers near at hand crowded round Him to argue the case, each seeking to win

<sup>1</sup> The exact interpretation of the words about the fig-tree is very difficult, but the intention of the narrative clearly is that Jesus went to the tree believing that He had good ground for expecting to find fruit on it.

His support. When they were silent for His decision, He broke out into fierce condemnation of the traffic.

"Is it not written that My House shall be called a House of Prayer for all nations? And ye have made it a den of thieves?" His teaching was promptly enforced by His Galilean followers, who swept the Temple courts clear of the salesmen and their goods, and thus "He drove out the sellers and buyers from the Temple, and upset the tables of the moneychangers and the seats of the dovesellers, and would not allow any one to carry a vessel through the Temple."

The disciples hailed the action of Jesus as a practical assertion of Messiahship, a further step towards the establishment of His authority, to be followed doubtless by others even more effective. Was not the Holy City polluted by the presence of a Roman garrison? But the disciples were again disappointed; Jesus did not give the signal for the attack on the Antonia, but simply preached to the people on the sanctity of the Temple, which seemed to friends and foes alike a lame and impotent conclusion of a very promising beginning. He had gone so far, men said, that He could neither pause nor go back; He must go on or perish. But Jesus was not now to be hurried on by the logic of events; He saw no Divine leading in them when they pointed to violence for political or personal ends; He went His own way without regard to the expectations of His friends or the personal consequences to Himself.

Meanwhile the news spread through the city; the mildest rumour was that there had been a disturbance in the Temple courts; that Jesus of Nazareth, at the head of a Galilean mob, had broken up the customary order of the festival, and suppressed the fair established for the convenience of pilgrims and the general advantage of all concerned. Public order in Jerusalem at the time of the

Passover was an anxious matter for both Jewish and Roman officials. The Jews especially dreaded any riot which might give the Romans an excuse for indiscriminate, bloody severity. To the chief priests, therefore, Jesus seemed a public danger, a view of the matter heartily endorsed by His old enemies, the scribes and Pharisees; so that the priestly officials, for the most part Sadducees, and the popular religious leaders, the Pharisees, were equally desirous of getting rid of Jesus. But for the moment He held the walled enclosures of the Temple with a formidable following; and an attempt to arrest Him would have caused a fresh riot. So for the time they left Him alone; and in the evening He let the crowd disperse, and departed quietly from the city with His disciples.

W. H. BENNETT.

### *THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.*

#### (4) THE PASSIVE VIRTUES.

CHRISTIAN morality is founded on natural morality. It is the republication of the law written on the heart. The findings of that "silent court of justice" which each man bears about within his breast, it adopts and makes its own. The virtues of Paganism, no less than the specifically Christian virtues, are essential to the completeness of the Christian character. So much we have seen in the last paper. We have now to turn to a type of ethical doctrine in which Christian teachers own no master save Christ, and in which the ethical originality of Christianity is most strikingly revealed. When St. Paul exhorts the Thessalonians to industry, or the Ephesians to truthfulness,<sup>1</sup> he is doing no more than any Roman moralist might have

<sup>1</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 10-12; Eph. iv. 25.

done; but when, in his letter to the Colossians, he bids them, "Put on, as God's elect, holy and beloved, a heart of compassion, kindness, humility, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving each other, if any man have a complaint against any; even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye,"<sup>1</sup> he has far out-soared the loftiest flights of ancient morality. It is this class of ethical precepts with which we are concerned in the present paper. We seek to learn how St. Paul would have a Christian man bear himself in face of an adverse lot, and especially of the wrongs and injuries done to him by another.

# I.

The exceeding wealth of the Apostle's teaching on the subject is in itself full of significance. Disregarding for the moment what he has to say concerning anger, or resentment, his precepts may be grouped around those three great ethical maxims:

"Doing nothing through faction or vainglory, but in lowliness of mind each counting other better than himself."<sup>2</sup>

"Love suffereth long and is kind."<sup>3</sup>

"Even as the Lord forgave you, so also do ye."<sup>4</sup>

Humility, meekness, forgiveness: these are the root, the flower, and the fruit of the truly Christian temper.

(1) *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, or lowly-mindedness,<sup>5</sup> comes first. It is well, as a rule, in the interpretation of the New Testament, not to make much of the mere order of the words in such a passage as that quoted above from the Epistle to the Colossians; but the position of *ταπεινοφροσύνη*, both there and in the parallel passage in the Epistle to the

<sup>1</sup> Col. iii. 12, 13.

<sup>2</sup> Phil. ii. 3.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. xiii. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Col. iii. 13.

<sup>5</sup> It is a little difficult to understand for what reason the Revisers have rendered the same word in one place (Col. iii. 12) "humility," in another (Eph. iv. 2) "lowliness," and in yet another (Acts xx. 19) "lowliness of mind."

Ephesians,<sup>1</sup> is probably significant. "Humility" is named before "meekness" and "long-suffering," since it is only through a wise and lowly estimate of ourselves that we come to know what is due to others. In similar fashion St. Paul introduces the great ethical injunctions of the Epistle to the Romans: "I say, through the grace that was given me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think."<sup>2</sup>

*Ταπεινοφροσύνη* describes the spirit of one who has come to the knowledge of himself in his relation to God. This is the primary and true meaning of the word. Humility is not so much a social as a religious virtue; it has reference, first of all, not to man but to God. Once this is clearly understood the mean and shabby associations which so often cling about the skirts of the word are immediately shaken off. Humility does not consist in telling lies about ourselves, nor in thinking worse of ourselves than we deserve, nor in allowing others to trample upon us at their pleasure. So far from being a sign of weakness, it is a badge of the strong. By true humility men are delivered from all slavish fear in the presence of their fellows; they can stand erect before men because they have learned to kneel before God. "The first test of a truly great man," says Ruskin, "is his humility." But, he continues, "I do not mean by humility, doubt of his own power, or hesitation of speaking his opinions. . . . All great men not only know their business, but usually know that they know it; and are not only right in their main opinions, but they usually know that they are right in

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 2.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. xii. 3. There are interesting parallels in our Lord's teaching: "Blessed are the poor in spirit" is the first of the Beatitudes. See also the Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, concerning which Dr. Alexander Whyte says: "In His last analysis of the truly justified man and the truly reprobate, our Lord made the deepest test to be their opinion of themselves" (*Bunyan Characters*, vol. i. p. 140).



them ; only they do not think much of themselves on that account . . . they do not expect their fellow-men, therefore, to fall down and worship them. They have a curious under-sense of powerlessness, feeling that the greatness is not *in* them, but *through* them—that they could not do or be anything else than God made them.”<sup>1</sup>

(2) Though, however, humility, rightly understood, has reference primarily to God, such an estimate of self cannot but have immediate results in our whole bearing towards our fellows. Arrogance may carry its head high, and insist upon its rights, refusing to surrender one jot or tittle of what is due to it ; but lowly-mindedness, remembering its own past, and the greatness of the Divine forbearance, will gladly bow its head and forgive. It is but natural, therefore, that St. Paul, when he mentions humility, should couple with it meekness and long-suffering. Yet these two words—*πραΰτης* and *μακροθυμία*—do not declare the Apostle’s whole mind on the matter. Perhaps in no department of ethical duty have we a terminology so rich and varied as that furnished by the New Testament concerning our duty in the presence of suffering and wrongdoing. Let us bring together some of the treasures with which its pages are so thickly strewn.

(a) *Αὐτάρκεια* (contentment) is a term which St. Paul uses in common with the Stoics to describe the prevailing temper of a wise man’s life.<sup>2</sup> It denotes the sufficiency

<sup>1</sup> *Frondes Agrestes*, p. 18. So also Mr. John Morley : “The grace of humility is one of the supreme moral attractions in a man. Its outward signs are not always directly discernible ; and it may exist underneath marked intrepidity, confidence in one’s own judgment, and even a strenuous push for the honours of the world. But without humility, no veracity” (*Miscellanies*, vol. iii. p. 249).

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. ix. 8 and 1 Tim. vi. 6 ; see also Phil. iv. 11. There is some uncertainty about the exact significance of the word in the first of these passages. Ellicott interprets it objectively—“sufficiency” ; Meyer, subjectively—“An inward self-sufficing.”

Findlay has an admirable note on the contrast between the Pauline and Stoic ideas of *αὐτάρκεια* : “The Christian self-sufficiency is relative ;

of him who is independent of external circumstances, and is able to say, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therein to be content."

(b) A much more frequent word in the Pauline Epistles is *ὑπομονή*, which is usually rendered "patience."<sup>1</sup> It should be noted, however, that while our word is only passive, St. Paul's word is both active and passive. It denotes not only patience but perseverance as well. It describes the temper of the man "that endureth to the end," the constancy of blind Milton, which both "bears up" and "steers right onward," the *brave* patience which under a great siege of trials does not lose heart.

(c) The previous words describe the Christian temper under suffering. We turn now to a group of words in which the suffering is considered as inflicted by others. Foremost among these is *μακροθυμία* (long-suffering). "While *ὑπομονή* is the temper which does not easily succumb under suffering, *μακροθυμία* is the self-restraint which does not hastily retaliate a wrong." As *γλυκύθυμος* means "sweet-tempered" and *ῥᾶθυμος* "quick-tempered," so *μακρόθυμος* is literally "long-tempered," the opposite to our "short-tempered." If "longanimity," like "magnanimity," had gained for itself a footing in the English language—an attempt was made to introduce it—this would have

it is an independence of the world through dependence upon God. The Stoic self-sufficiency pretends to be absolute. The one is the contentment of faith, the other of pride. Cato and Paul both stand erect and fearless before a persecuting world: one with a look of rigid and defiant scorn; the other with a face now lighted up with unutterable joy in God, now cast down with sorrow and wet with tears for God's enemies. The Christian martyr and the Stoic suicide are the final examples of these two memorable and contemporaneous protests against the evils of the world" (*Christian Doctrine and Morals*, p. 84).

<sup>1</sup> Rom. v. 3, viii. 25, xii. 12; 2 Cor. i. 6 (R.V. "patient enduring"); Col. i. 11; 2 Thess. ii. 5 ("the patience of Christ," not, as in A.V., "the patient waiting for Christ"); and elsewhere.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. ii. 4; 2 Cor. vi. 6; Gal. v. 22; Eph. iv. 2; Col. i. 11, iii. 12; 2 Tim. iii. 10, iv. 2, etc.

been, perhaps, our most exact equivalent of St. Paul's *μακροθυμία*.<sup>1</sup>

(d) As *ὑπομονή* is opposed to cowardice and *μακροθυμία* to revenge, so is our next term *πραΰτης* (meekness)<sup>2</sup> opposed to harshness or rudeness. It denotes the bearing towards others which results from a lowly estimate of ourselves. "The meek man thinks as little of his personal claims as the humble man of his personal merits."<sup>3</sup>

(e) Closely akin to *πραΰτης* is the beautiful word *ἐπιείκεια*,<sup>4</sup> which has given our translators so much trouble. In Acts xxiv. 4 it is rendered "clemency," in 2 Corinthians x. 1 "gentleness," in both A.V. and R.V., while in Philippians iv. 5 the A.V. has "moderation," and the R.V. "forbearance," with "gentleness" in the margin. "Sweet reasonableness" is Matthew Arnold's well-known equivalent. *Ἐπιείκεια* is equity as opposed to strict law, gentleness as opposed to contentiousness. "Let your forbearance be known unto all men" means "Do not make a rigorous and obstinate stand for what is your just due."

(f) One word still remains to be mentioned—*χρηστότης*,<sup>5</sup> which in the R.V. is rendered "good" (Rom. iii. 12), "goodness" (Rom. ii. 4, xi. 22), but elsewhere "kindness." In Rom. xi. 22 it is set in contrast with *ἀποτομία* (severity). The central idea of the word is *benignitas*, or

<sup>1</sup> See Lightfoot's *Colossians*, p. 140; J. B. Mayor's *Epistle of St. James*, p. 149; and Trench's *Synonyms of the N.T.*, p. 196.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 21; 2 Cor. x. 1; Gal. v. 22, vi. 1; Eph. iv. 2; Col. iii. 12; 2 Tim. ii. 25; Tit. iii. 2. A different word of similar meaning—*πραΰνθαι*—occurs only in 1 Tim. vi. 11.

<sup>3</sup> The difference between *μακροθυμία* and *πραΰτης*, which is very slight, has been defined thus: *μακροθυμία* does not get angry soon, *πραΰτης* does not get angry at all. But this is surely untenable; with all its commendations of meekness, the New Testament commends no man for inability to be angry.

<sup>4</sup> Acts xxiv. 4; 2 Cor. x. 1. The corresponding adjective occurs in Phil. iv. 5; 1 Tim. iii. 8; Tit. iii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> Rom. ii. 4, iii. 12, xi. 22; 2 Cor. vi. 6; Gal. v. 22; Eph. ii. 7; Col. iii. 12; Tit. iii. 4.

sweetness of disposition, a grace which, as Trench says, pervading and penetrating the whole nature, mellows there all which would have been harsh and austere. "Wine is *χρηστός*, which has been mellowed with age (Luke v. 39); Christ's yoke is *χρηστός*, as having nothing harsh or galling about it (Matt. xi. 30)."<sup>1</sup>

Even yet our list is not complete. We may pass over *ἀνοχή* (forbearance; *ἀνέχομαι* = to hold one's hand), since it is used in the New Testament only of God (Rom. ii. 4, iii. 26); but we still have *ἀνεξίκακος*, "patient of wrongs" (R. V. "forbearing"), and *ἡπιος*, "gentle" (both in 2 Tim. ii. 24),<sup>2</sup> and the many passages in which the Apostle exhorts his readers to be at peace both among themselves and with all men (1 Thess. v. 13; Rom. xii. 18), and to follow after things which make for peace (Rom. xiv. 19).<sup>3</sup>

(3) And now of this goodly edifice of apostolic doctrine, of which humility is the foundation, forgiveness is the completion and the crown. We are bidden to endure suffering with patience and meekness, to school ourselves in the hard lesson of forbearance, to put out the fierce fires of vindictive wrath. But even this is not enough. It is possible to put such a constraint upon ourselves that neither with hands nor with lips do we offend, and yet fall far short of the law of Christ. We must not only forbear, we must forgive; not the manifestations of enmity only, but the enmity itself must be subdued. "Non-resistance" is a feeble word indeed by which to express what is the true Christian attitude towards those who would do us hurt. We must resist, but not with our enemies' weapons; we must clothe ourselves with the victorious might of love and fight against evil until we have overcome it with

<sup>1</sup> *Synonyms of the N.T.*, p. 288.

<sup>2</sup> There is a doubt about the reading in 1 Thess. ii. 7: Westcott and Hort have *νήπιος* (babes), the Revisers *ἡπιος* (gentle). See Ellicott's note *in loco*.

<sup>3</sup> See also 1 Cor. iii. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 11; Phil. ii. 8, iv. 2.

good. "See that none render unto any one evil for evil": with this word the Apostle stays our feet when we seek the wrong way; but he does more than merely call a halt; he points out the right way: "Follow after that which is good, one toward another, and toward all."<sup>1</sup> And this is his message in every epistle. The beautiful letter to Philemon is one earnest plea for the forgiveness of the runaway slave Onesimus. He bids the Corinthians forgive the penitent evildoer in their midst, and so confirm their love to him, lest he "should be swallowed up with his overmuch sorrow."<sup>2</sup> "Bless them that curse you; bless, and curse not." "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him to drink."<sup>3</sup> "Be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving each other, even as God also in Christ forgave you."<sup>4</sup>

## II.

Such a contribution to ethical doctrine as is indicated above, from whatever quarter it had come, could not have failed to arrest attention. The thirst for revenge is so strong in the natural man that any voice speaking with authority and declaring such a thirst to be sinful would at least be sure of a hearing. But the fact which multiplied a hundredfold the impressiveness of the Christian message was this, that what it enjoined it also exhibited; its ideal was there, visibly set forth in a perfect human life. Or rather, the actual *was* the ideal; St. Paul's ethic was not constructed out of his own head; it was simply the unfolding of the moral significance of the life and mind of Jesus. And if, beyond the words of others, his words concerning patience and meekness and forgiveness speak to us with authority to-day, it is because in them we hear the voice of Him of whom it is written that He was meek and

<sup>1</sup> 1 Thess. v. 15.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 7, 8.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. xii. 14, 20.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. iv. 32. Cp. also Col. iii. 12, 13.

lowly in heart, that when He was reviled He reviled not again, that when He died He prayed even for His murderers, saying, "Father, forgive them, for they know not what they do."

This relation between the Divine example and human duty is continually present to the mind of St. Paul in his reference to the passive virtues. The long-suffering (*μακροθυμία*) and kindness (*χρηστότης*) which we are bidden to show in our dealings with others are abundantly made manifest in God's dealings with us<sup>1</sup>; the forgiveness we receive from Him is the true measure of the forgiveness we owe.<sup>2</sup> Nor are these qualities merely the deductions of a devout mind arguing back from its own perceptions of duty to the character of the Deity which it worships. Indeed, the method of St. Paul's thinking is exactly the reverse of this; he begins with God, and the revelation of God given in the historic Christ, the Incarnate Son, and deduces thence the character and measure of human obligation. Take, e.g., the great passage on the Incarnation in the Epistle to the Philippians, where the self-emptying and humiliation of our Lord are dwelt upon in order to lend emphasis to the exhortation to lowly-mindedness: "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus."<sup>3</sup> "The Lord direct your hearts," the Apostle prays, "into the love of God and into the patience of Christ,"—"into such a patience, i.e., as Christ Himself in His earthly life exhibited. "I intreat you," he writes in another place, "by the meekness and gentleness of Christ"<sup>4</sup>; and here again his eyes are on that radiant Figure as once it moved

<sup>1</sup> Rom. ii. 4, xi. 22.

<sup>2</sup> Col. iii. 13. Cp. George Macdonald's lines:—

"Make my forgiveness downright—such as I  
Should perish if I did not have from Thee."

<sup>3</sup> Phil. ii. 5–8.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Thess. iii. 5.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. x. 1.

amongst men. But it was in the death and cross of Christ that St. Paul found the supreme motive to the love that suffereth long and still is kind. "Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we endure; being defamed, we intreat<sup>1</sup>": where had that hard lesson—doubly hard for a man like St. Paul—been learned? To ask the question is to answer it. When Apostles told the story of the Gospels, and took for the symbol of their faith a cross, patience and meekness were lifted out of the dust and clad in white raiments.

### III.

A few brief notes may be added in order to complete as far as may be this brief exposition of the passive virtues.

The originality of the type of character in which the gentler virtues hold the foremost place, and the new dignity conferred by Christianity on humility and forgiveness have already been pointed out.<sup>2</sup> There can be no clearer indication of the estimate put upon humility by the ancient world than the fact to which reference has already been made, that the Greek language had no word of good credit by which to describe it. "In heathen writers," says Bishop Lightfoot, "*ταπεινός* has almost always a bad meaning, 'grovelling,' 'abject.'"<sup>3</sup> In the New Testament, on the contrary, it is always, save once, a term of praise.<sup>4</sup> No less sharp is the contrast in the case of forgiveness. Isolated instances of generosity towards a foe on the part of a noble heathen—such, e.g., as are

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. iv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> See EXPOSITORS, Feb., 1905, p. 141.

<sup>3</sup> *Philippians*, p. 109.

<sup>4</sup> The exception is 2 Cor. x. 1, where St. Paul is quoting one of the sneers current in Corinth at his expense; the speakers were familiar with the word only in its contemptuous sense (see Denney's *Second Epistle to the Corinthians*, p. 292). It may be noted, also, that in Col. ii. 18 and 28 St. Paul himself speaks of *ταπεινοφροσύνη* in disparagement; but this is the sole exception to the general usage of the New Testament (see Lightfoot's note *in loco*).

recorded of Pericles—do nothing to efface the deep distinction between ancient and modern morality which has been established by the Christian law of forgiveness. The inscription which Plutarch tells us was written on the tomb of Sulla in the field of Mars—"No man did ever pass him, neither in doing good to his friends nor in doing mischief to his enemies"—sums up with memorable exactness the mind of the ancient world upon this matter. And if further illustration be needed, we may ask if any greater contrast to the pure and gentle ideals which these pages have sought to portray can well be imagined than is to be found in that hard, cruel, Roman world of which to this day the vast ruin of the Colosseum remains "at once the most imposing and the most characteristic relic"? <sup>1</sup>

In speaking thus in praise of the passive virtues it is necessary to point out how easily they are counterfeited and how worthless are the imitations. Humility is good, but "the devil's darling vice is the pride that apes humility." Humility is good, but not that ignoble self-depreciation which ignoble natures sometimes use to cloak their unwillingness to obey the call of duty and of God. So, too, meekness is not tameness; to be "poor in spirit" is not to be what we call "poor-spirited." The nature which in presence of the claims and needs of others abates its own demands and puts a stern constraint upon itself has nothing in common with the weak amiability which is always ready to be all things to all men, only because it has no settled convictions of its own. Nor, again, does a forgiving spirit imply incapacity for anger. So far is it from being true that love and anger cannot dwell together in the same breast that he who has lost the power to be angry has lost more than half the power to love.

These various misconceptions of the passive virtues usually spring from one root: the idea, viz., that they are

<sup>1</sup> Lecky's *History of European Morals*, vol. i. p. 275.



all in some way or other associated with weakness. There could hardly be a greater mistake. "Passive" we may call them, yet they demand something much more than mere passivity of soul; indeed, only by the most strenuous moral energy can they be maintained. So far from being the badge of weakness, they are the sign-manual of the strong. Let any man set himself to practise in the rough-and-tumble of daily life the virtues of humility, patience, meekness, and forgiveness, and it will not be long before he will discover that if he is to hold his own he will need to call out his last reserves of moral and spiritual strength. *Strengthened with all power, according to the might of His glory, unto—what?* No proud feats of spiritual heroism, but simply this: *all patience and long-suffering*.<sup>1</sup> The Apostle is right; never do men more need the heavenly girding that when they are called to forbear and to forgive. *Stronger* is he that ruleth his spirit than he that taketh a city.<sup>2</sup>

It is indeed sometimes asserted that Christianity has wholly failed to teach men forgiveness.<sup>3</sup> We may with

<sup>1</sup> Col. i. 11.

<sup>2</sup> The passive virtues not only call for strength, they reveal it. The point is well put by Horace Bushnell: "Have you never observed the immense power exerted by many Christian men and women whose lives are passed in comparative silence? You know not how it is, they seem to be really doing little, and yet they are felt by thousands. And the secret of this wonder is that they know how to suffer well—they are in the patience of Jesus. They will not resent evil, or think evil. They are not easily provoked. They are content with their lot, though it be a lot of poverty and affliction. They will not be envious of others. When they are wronged they remember Christ and forgive; when opposed and thwarted, they endure and wait. They live in an element of composure and sweetness, and cannot be irritated and fretted by men, because they are so much with God, and so ready to bear the cross of His Son, that human wrongs and judgments have little power to unsettle or disturb them. Now before these a continual flood of influence will be continually rolling. Their gentleness is stronger than the onsets and assaults of other men. They are in the kingdom of Jesus, reigning with Him, because they are with Him in His patience" (Sermon on "The Efficiency of the Passive Virtues" in *The New Life*).

<sup>3</sup> Thus, e.g., a writer in the *Spectator* (Feb. 27, 1904) speaks of forgive-

justice question a judgment so extreme as this, and at the same time admit that there is no sharper test of the Christian temper than that which is furnished by the virtues we have just been considering. Revenge, it has been truly said, is the last stronghold of the natural man<sup>1</sup>; it is the last fort which he holds against the spirit of the gospel, and in its capture we have the most decisive evidence of the triumph of the Christian spirit. Indeed, so peculiarly characteristic of Christianity is forgiveness felt to be that, as the author of *Ecce Homo* has pointed out, when a Christian spirit is spoken of it is a forgiving spirit that is usually meant.<sup>2</sup> The pagan in us all dies hard; but when from our hearts we have learned to forgive we have dealt him his death-blow.

GEORGE JACKSON.

## THE EARLY CHRISTIAN SYMBOL OF THE OPEN BOOK.

### II.

As it is now clearly established that during the early centuries the Christians sometimes indicated on grave-stones an open book or pair of tablets, it is necessary in the next place to try to discover the origin of this custom. It may be regarded as certain, in view of the symbolic character which is clearly shown in early Christian art and

ness as "the one thing in which Christian ethics may be said to have absolutely failed." Readers of *Ivanhoe* will recall Wamba's quip: "'I forgive you, Sir Knight,' said Rowena, 'as a Christian.' 'That means,' said Wamba, 'that she does not forgive him at all.'"

<sup>1</sup> Take as an illustration the words which Rolf Boldrewood puts into the lips of an old man who had led a wild, rough life in the Australian bush: "Mine ain't been such a bad innings, and I don't owe much to any man. I mean as I've mostly been square with them that's done me a bad turn. No man can say that Ben Marston was ever back'ard in that way; and never will be, that's more. No! them as trod on me felt my teeth some day or other."

<sup>2</sup> Pop. ed., p. 272.

thought, that the figure of the book was symbolical: in other words, this representation was chosen with the intention of rousing a certain idea in the minds of those who saw it.

We have already recognized that the open book must be regarded as symbolizing the judgment of God, the day of reckoning. The custom of writing important legal documents inside a pair of tablets,<sup>1</sup> which were to be opened at a legally appointed time or in a law-court, is well known in Roman usage.

Such documents were used for a great variety of purposes<sup>2</sup>; and when important they were sealed by witnesses. The tablets were closed and tied with a triple thread, and the seals of the witnesses were placed over the thread, so that the tablets could not be opened without breaking the seals or cutting the thread. When triple tablets were used for documents of this important kind, the first two leaves or tablets were fastened together by the thread and sealed up, and the third leaf or tablet was left untied and unclosed. We shall find in the course of this article reason to prove that the "book" of the Apocalypse v. 1 was a pair of tablets and not triple tablets. It is unnecessary to give any proof that the word "book" (*biblion*) could be applied to a document of this kind: a glance at the *Thesaurus* will discover the proof that *biblion* was used much like the Latin *libellus* as a generic term for a legal document.

No document of this character was admitted as valid unless the seals and thread had remained untampered with from the time when it was executed and sealed by the witnesses. Thus the breaking of the seals and the opening of the book or set of tablets indicated the process of judgment; and the symbol of the open book was thus pecu-

<sup>1</sup> Triple tablets were also used in some cases (see following paragraph).

<sup>2</sup> See Marquardt, *Privatleben der Römer*. pp. 805-7.

liarily suitable for Christian tombstones, on which some appeal to the judgment of God was expressed in various forms very frequently in that early period.

Such a symbolism is likely to have originated from the way of understanding (or misunderstanding) some passage of the Bible popular at the time when the symbol was first devised. Any suggestion as to the origin of an early Christian symbol is likely to be even more uncertain and subjective than suggestions as to the meaning of such symbols must (as we have seen) always be. Hence the following theory is advanced with full consciousness that it can only rank as possible or probable.

The starting-point from which the use of this symbol proceeded is probably to be found in the Apocalypse v. 1 ff. : *I saw in the right hand of him who sat on the throne a book written within and on the back, sealed with seven seals. (3) And no one in heaven, nor on the earth, nor under the earth, was able to open the book.*

The modern interpreters of this passage usually, and not unnaturally, begin from the obvious, indisputable fact that it was suggested to the mind of the seer through his familiarity with Ezekiel ii. 9 : *Behold, a hand stretched out towards me ; and lo, a scroll of a book therein. And he spread it before me : and it was written within and without : and there were written therein lamentations and mourning and woe.*

The argument which would be required to support the absolute rejection of the theory which is here proposed, would have to take the form that the imitator must have been careful to mean exactly the same thing in every detail as the original model ; and, since Ezekiel is plainly and explicitly speaking about a roll, therefore St. John also must be speaking about a roll ; and therefore also his readers throughout the early centuries must have understood that he was speaking about a roll.

This line of reasoning seems to the present writer to be a mistaken one from first to last.

In the first place, it is a modernism which is out of keeping with ancient modes of thought. The desire for accuracy in such details, and the dislike for anachronisms and inconsistencies are a modern and not an ancient characteristic. We desire to understand exactly and precisely in all its surroundings the meaning of the literature of the past. The ancients were careless in such matters, like the mediaeval and even more recent writers or readers; and they never hesitated to read the past in terms of their own contemporary situation, and to imagine the characters of the past clothed as persons of the present and surrounded by similar circumstances.

In the second place, there is no reason to believe that St. John must have seen exactly the same image which Ezekiel describes. The passage of Ezekiel suggested to his mind a certain train of symbolic imagination; but it does not follow therefore that he would reproduce the original model faithfully and slavishly in every detail. In fact he does not do so. His description contains certain points of difference. The book which he saw was sealed on the outside with seven seals: that which Ezekiel saw had no seals. The book which Ezekiel saw was spread, i.e. unrolled, before him: the book in the Apocalypse was opened after the seals had been broken.

Moreover, the book in Ezekiel was first unrolled, and then the prophet saw that it was written on the inside and on the back. The slightest thought about the appearance of a *volumen* is enough to prove that this order is strictly true. When a *volumen* was rolled up, it would be impossible to see that it was written on the back; the end of the roll, which remained visible on the outside when the book was rolled up, was of a different material, forming a sort of

cover and not intended or adapted for writing on, but merely serving as a protection for the writing on the roll.

On the other hand, the book in the Apocalypse was seen to be written on the back, while it was still closed and sealed up. In other words, the writing on the back was public and open, whereas the writing inside was secret; and an essential characteristic of the contents was that they should remain secret until the due time arrived and the properly qualified person opened the seals and disclosed the writing. The seer of the vision could not actually behold the inner writing, but inferred this from the seals: sealed tablets were written tablets, necessarily and invariably, according to a common custom, familiar to all at that time.<sup>1</sup>

The argument just stated, even if it stood alone, seems absolutely to preclude the possibility that the "book" mentioned in Revelation v. 1 was a roll or *volumen*. But, further, it appears impossible to interpret the seven seals reasonably, if the "book" had the form of a roll. I know of no analogy which could be quoted as a parallel to justify the idea that a roll was ever sealed on the outside to keep it shut up and secret, or for any other purpose. Moreover, I do not know that seals were used by the ancients, as we often employ sealing-wax, purely and simply to keep a set of papers shut. The ancient seal was, so far as I know, always the seal of an individual person, and was placed on any object for a definite legal purpose. Seven seals meant, in ordinary circumstances, the seals of seven different persons, required according to some legal provision. It is not intended here to maintain that there were never any cases in which an individual put his own seal several times on some object for some special purpose. It is only intended

<sup>1</sup> In a roll, also, the inner writing would be even more completely invisible than the outer writing, but it could have been inferred from the outer writing, if there had been any way of seeing that the outside was written.

to assert that, when seven seals on a document or book were mentioned, the natural and inevitable meaning which would be gathered by the listener or reader from this statement would be that the seals of seven persons were put on the article, according to some legal requirement. The seal was far more widely and commonly used in ancient times than at the present day: practically, every individual of any education or position in society had his own seal: the seal (and not the signing of the name in writing, as in modern times) guaranteed and represented the witness and free act of the individual: in short, the seal was the expression of his personality, and seven seals meant seven persons concerned in the act of closing up the sealed "book."

Here, again, we do not intend to maintain a negative, a foolish and unnecessary proceeding. We do not intend to assert that a roll or *volumen* was never sealed up by seven persons for some purpose. Had the other facts of this case tended to show that the "book" of Revelation v. was a *volumen*, it would have been necessary to accept the apparent statement that the *volumen* was for some reason or other sealed up, strange as such a proceeding would be. But, the other facts prove absolutely that the "book" could not be a roll; and we shall now find that the seals, while unsuitable to a roll, were natural and common in the case of a "book."

The word which is here used, *biblion*, was used sometimes in the sense of a roll or *volumen*, sometimes in that of a small codex, or of a set of tablets, or of a letter (which was written not on a roll, but on a paper folded *in folio*, in the form of four pages). A set of tablets (*tabulæ* or *tabellæ*), practically amounted to two or more leaves made of wood and wax instead of paper. They were thin slips of wood, usually oblong in shape, fastened together along one of the long sides, so that they could be opened or shut. There was a hollow in one or both faces of each tablet or slip,

and this hollow was filled with wax, to receive the writing.

Our view is that the sealed book of the Apocalypse was a set of tablets.

Now documents of a briefer kind were frequently written on paper or on tablets; and especially when the purpose was to keep the writing private and to reserve it for certain eyes, and ensure that it came before those eyes unaltered and unread, was practically universal, whether the material might be paper or tablets (wooden or of other material). When this purpose of privacy and reservation was aimed at, it was common to close and seal the two leaves so that the interior could not be disclosed without breaking the seal. When tablets were used, a triple linen thread was passed round them according to a common Roman legal usage, and the seals of witnesses placed over the thread with their names attached. These witnesses could afterwards be summoned in a court of law to attest that their seals had remained unbroken since they were attached.

The number seven in this case points to Roman usage. In the earlier Greek usage the number was not fixed, but varied according to convenience and caprice. In Egyptian Hellenistic usage the number of witnesses and seals was fixed as six.<sup>1</sup> In Roman usage, at least for testamentary purposes, the number was fixed regularly as seven, though in special cases where the number of fully qualified legal witnessess could not easily be got (as among rustics, or in time of epidemics), a smaller number was permitted and accepted.

The custom is most familiar in the case of the Roman written, or prætorian, will.<sup>2</sup> When this class of will was

<sup>1</sup> This statement rests on the authority of Gerhard and Gradenwitz in *Philologus* (1904), p. 500 f.

<sup>2</sup> I am indebted to my colleague, Professor N. J. D. Kennedy, for aid in this subject.



introduced, under the authority of the Prætor, its validity depended on its bearing the seals of seven witnesses, impressed over the linen thread that closed the tablets. After the death of the testator, the will was produced in court, tested to prove that it had never been opened or tampered with, then opened and recognized as valid. But it is practically certain that this method of guaranteeing authenticity was not confined to wills, but was a general device, adopted in the case of wills from existing custom. It had a Greek origin, being similar to Greek facts, and was not of Roman origin.

Again, the statement that there was writing inside and on the back of the "book" now acquires a new meaning to the reader of the Revelation. In the corresponding passage of Ezekiel, the roll was written inside and outside, because the tale of lamentations and woe was so long that it overflowed on to the back of the *volumen*. The case is exactly similar to that of which Juvenal tells in his first Satire, lines 5, 6: he describes the tediously long tragedy. *Orestes* as written even on the back of the *volumen*, when the border to the very end was full. In this description the reader is understood to be gradually unrolling the *volumen* as he goes on, and he comes at last to the end, where the paper is fastened to the central stick (*umbilicus*); the last part or border of the paper, where it touches the stick, is covered with writing, and then the back also is covered with writing, and yet the poem is *not* finished. Juvenal's picture, like many others in his *Satires*, is exaggerated far beyond the realities of actual practice, and must be understood in that way.

In both cases, the roll of Ezekiel and the poem mentioned by Juvenal, the purpose is the same: the emphasis is laid on the length of the writing, because the mere length of the tale is the critical fact: the longer the writing, the more woe does it record: the longer the poem, the greater

the weariness of the reader or hearer. Incidentally we observe that the length of the poem which Juvenal mentions is appreciated only after it has been unrolled to the very end (*summi libri*): the reader opens it up and comprehends, when he comes to the end, that the roll is quite full, to the margin and the back.

But in the "book" of Apocalypse v. 1, the intention cannot be the same. The book is closed and sealed, but there is writing on the back, which is open to any one to read. This cannot be a continuation of the writing inside: it would be meaningless and absurd to close and seal up the writing inside, if this writing were incomplete. It is plain and sure that the inside writing was complete before it was sealed up: this completed document was to remain secret and unchanged until the due time when it ought to be opened. The outside writing had a different purpose; and the emphasis is not in this case laid on the superabundant length of the writing, but on some other fact or character that belongs to it.

The same result follows from another consideration. This "book" was, as we have seen, not big enough to hold a long composition: it could not contain a long tragic poem, or a long record of lamentations and woe; it was adapted to enshrine some important legal document, a will, a covenant, or a record of sale of land or house, or some other important bargain about property. Such a document had a certain well-defined extent, and it would not be made more important or impressive by lengthening the record, not to mention the fact that all legal validity would be lost if part of the document were left open and exposed to alteration or to addition.

What, then, was the meaning of the writing on the back of the "book"? The reference clearly must be to the distinction, fully established both in Greek and in Roman usage, between the inner and the outer writing (*scriptura*

*interior* and *scriptura exterior*). It was in many cases convenient, and in some cases almost necessary, to know what were the terms of the inner writing. Yet the inner writing must remain closed and sealed in order to ensure its validity. A second copy was therefore written on the outside. This copy was open, and could be used or quoted ; but it had no authority in a court of law, because tampering with it would have been easy.<sup>1</sup>

The distinction between the outer and the inner writing was preserved more faithfully in Roman than in Hellenistic usage. In the Greek Egypt, as is pointed out in the article already quoted,<sup>2</sup> as early as the second century B.C., a new method of securing the same purpose began to replace the closed and sealed up *scriptura interior*. The purpose of sealing the inner copy was to attain certainty that the document had not been changed or falsified since the bargain was concluded and the document executed. But that purpose was attainable by other devices. Registration of documents and sales, the preservation of official copies, and above all (where documents were written on paper) the art of handwriting, offered more convenient ways of ensuring the safety and authenticity of documents. Hence the open *scriptura exterior* became the determining copy, while the sealed *scriptura interior* steadily declined in importance, degenerated first into a mere hurried formality, and finally disappeared entirely. But in Rome, partly through the greater rigidity of legal requirements and partly owing to the custom of writing in the wax of the tablets, where alteration was so easy to make and so difficult to detect, the older method, with the distinction of the outer

<sup>1</sup> If the book was a diptych, i.e. consisted of two leaves or tablets, i.e. four pages, the *scriptura exterior* was on the fourth page. In the case of a triptych of those leaves or tablets, the *scriptura exterior* was on the fourth and fifth pages, and would not be visible when the book was closed. Hence the "book" of the Apocalypse must have been a diptych, or pair of tablets.

<sup>2</sup> *Philologus*, 1904, p. 501.

writing and the inner sealed and secret writing, was preserved to a much later date. In the fifth century after Christ, and even later, the old form was followed, at least in the case of wills.

The inference, already drawn with some probability from the number of seals, that the "book" in Revelation v. 1 was suggested by Roman, not by Greek usage, is confirmed by these considerations. The "book" was a pair of tablets, closed by the seven seals from human eyes, until the due time had come when the proper person should open the seals and read the writing.

Now how far does this suggestion throw any new light on the purpose of the "book"? It is, of course, necessary here and always in the Apocalypse, to remember that the symbolism is employed with a perfectly free hand; the ideas and figures taken from common life are not always used by the writer in the exact and precise way in which he knew them in ordinary usage. He did not consciously imitate works and facts of the ordinary world and of common social surroundings; but he unconsciously was swayed by his own experience and knowledge. The forms and details, taken one by one, are drawn from contemporary life or from the literature of the Jews (chiefly the Prophetic and the Apocalyptic literature); but the spirit, the purpose, the general effect are not imitated. "The current forms are used, not slavishly, but creatively and boldly; and they must not be interpreted pedantically. A new spirit has been put into them by the writer."<sup>1</sup> The scene in Revelation v. must, therefore, not be assumed to be modelled on the circumstances in which a Roman "book" was opened before a Roman court. The single detail is caught, but freely worked up into the scene which the writer imagines. It may be assumed as natural that there was one special official, alike in Roman and in

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters to the Seven Churches*, p. 59 f.

earlier Hellenistic usage, whose duty it was to break the seals and disclose the *scriptura interior*; and it seems certain that in Hellenistic usage there was one special official whose duty it was to produce the document before the court.<sup>1</sup> But this analogy is worked up with a very bold and transforming hand into the scene where the "seals" are broken in the Apocalypse. The scene is, as a whole, Jewish and Apocalyptic, both in conception and in most of the details.

One thing, however, seems highly probable with regard to the "book." It can hardly be a book of prophecy of coming events, though the interpreters in modern times seem almost all to assume that it was prophetic. The *scriptura exterior* seems meaningless in that case, unless we are to understand that this outer writing was merely the title and description of the contents; and, of course, this might be defended by the analogy of Roman Testaments, in which the outer writing could hardly be more than a title and general description. But it seems more probable that the "book" was not prophetic, but rather the record of the Covenant between God and man. The judgment is about to begin. The reckoning is to be taken. The carefully guarded record is produced, and the duly qualified person alone is empowered to open it for the solemn occasion.

And even those who prefer to interpret the "book" as a prophecy with regard to the future, and not as a statement of the principles and conditions on which the judgment of God is to be conducted,—even they must admit that our interpretation was at least not an unnatural view for the Christians of the second and third century to adopt. In the Phrygian and Lycaonian monuments described in the first part of this article is found the evidence that this view was

<sup>1</sup> This second point is stated as certain for Graeco-Egyptian usage in the already quoted article, *Philologus*, 1904, p. 500.

at that time dominant. The "book" is engraved on the tombstone, as symbolizing the appeal to the judgment of God, whether this takes the form merely of an intention to warn off intruders from violating the tomb, or contains the more serious and elevated thought that the judgment of God must be reckoned with and prepared for by all, and that this message and warning is preached at every death and on every grave.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*JERUSALEM FROM REHOBOAM TO HEZEKIAH*  
(continued).

3. JEHOSHAPHAT: *circa* 873-850.

It is not easy to estimate the effects upon Jerusalem of the long reign of Jehoshaphat. Owing to the character of the traditions we must deal largely with inferences. Yet the general facts from which these have to be drawn are well attested. The long war between Israel and Judah had at last come to an end. Asa's efforts must have so far strengthened the latter as to render the house of Omri willing to enter an alliance. Had it been otherwise, so ambitious a dynasty, with increasing wealth and political influence, would hardly have consented to a relation in which there was probably more equality between the contracting parties than modern historians have perceived. Athaliah, the daughter of Ahab, was married to Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat<sup>1</sup>; and Jehoshaphat assisted both Ahab at Ramoth-Gilead and Ahab's son, Jehoram, against Moab.<sup>2</sup> It is true that on each of these occasions the king of Israel was the one who made the proposal, and that Jehoshaphat immediately and unreservedly complied. The terms in which he did so are,

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings viii, 18.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings xxii.; 2 Kings iii. 4 ff.

however, no stronger than the forms of Oriental politeness would demand from an ally. As leader of the smaller force Jehoshaphat took, of course, the second place in the expeditions. But when Ahab's second successor, Ahaziah, offered to share in the voyage down the Red Sea, Jehoshaphat was able to refuse him; and even on the campaigns against Aram and Moab he is said—by, be it observed, records which are not Judæan, but Israelite—to have shown a firm and independent temper. Before the battle of Ramoth-Gilead it was he who proposed to consult a prophet of Jahweh, and it was by his repeated urgency that the true prophet was at last found. On the Moabite campaign he showed a similar insistence, and this time the prophet, who was Elisha, consented to give an answer only for his sake. These facts prove religious insight and force of character. A Judæan record adds that Jehoshaphat completed the removal of the immoral elements in Judah's worship which Asa had begun.<sup>1</sup> He also maintained the supremacy of Judah over Edom, and used it not only for the land-trade which Edom commanded, but in order to launch a ship on the Red Sea.<sup>2</sup>

We may take these high qualities of Jehoshaphat as indicative of the morale of Judah and Jerusalem at this time. Whatever evil elements she had still to get rid of, the City possessed an amount of piety and energy which were preparing for her future. The Chronicler<sup>3</sup> indeed supplies an account of Jehoshaphat's reign according to which Jerusalem must already have become a place of great magnificence. His story has sometimes been regarded as an entire fabrication, both because of the number of soldiers

<sup>1</sup> 1 Kings xxii. 46.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. 47 ff. The text reconstructed after the LXX. and the Hebrew consonants reads thus: *And there was no king in Edom; the deputy of king Jehoshaphat made a ship of Tarshish to go to Ophir for gold, but it went not, for the ship was broken in Ezion-Geber.* So Stade and others.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xvii.—xx.

described as waiting on the king<sup>1</sup> in Jerusalem—one million one hundred and sixty thousand in all—and because the organization attributed to Jehoshaphat has some features characteristic of the Jewish constitution after the Exile.<sup>2</sup> Yet there is evidence that the Chronicler has employed older sources<sup>3</sup>; it is hardly possible that the personal names he cites are inventions; and there is no sufficient motive to adduce for his assigning to Jehoshaphat so thorough an organization of religion and justice if that monarch had not achieved some results of the kind. Written law was certainly in existence, and those who attribute to this or a previous period the Book of the Covenant<sup>4</sup> naturally see in it the code which Jehoshaphat is said to have promulgated and organized. Whether this was so or not, we cannot be wrong in believing that under Jehoshaphat life and religion in Judah were inspired and regulated as they had not been before, certainly not since the days of Solomon. But every such achievement, however small, and even if followed as this was by a time of reaction, must have heightened the position of the City in the eyes of all Israel, and trained the more serious classes of her population in those ideals and habits which fitted her for her future career.

But the course of the purer faith was not yet clear. Jehoram, the son of Jehoshaphat, was married to Athaliah, a daughter of Ahab, and introduced to Judah the idolatry favoured by his wife's family.<sup>5</sup> But the new gods did not help him. First Edom revolted, then Judah was invaded

<sup>1</sup> *Besides those whom the king put in the fenced cities* (Id. xvii. 18-19).

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *Proleg.* 2nd ed. 198 f.

<sup>3</sup> xvii. 7-9 and xix. 4-11 are parallel and independent accounts of the establishment of the Law.

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 285.

<sup>5</sup> It may have been in consequence of opposition to this that he found it necessary to slay all his brothers and other princes of Judah. 2 Chron. xxi. 1-7. In verse 4 for Israel read Judah.



by Philistines and Arabs,<sup>1</sup> Libnah fell away from Judah,<sup>2</sup> the king lost to the invaders his treasure, his wives and his sons save one,<sup>3</sup> and finally himself succumbed to an incurable disease.<sup>4</sup> These fatalities must have strengthened the party of the purer religion, and the impression would be confirmed when, after a reign of a year, Ahaziah, the next king, was slain along with Jehoram of Israel by Jehu, the fanatic destroyer of the worship of Baal.<sup>5</sup>

#### 4. ATHALIAH: *circa* 842-836.

In the Book of Kings we now encounter a series of more detailed narratives of the history of Judah, and as their stage is Jerusalem we recover that close and vivid view of the City which we have lost since the days of Solomon, but which henceforth is visible off and on for some centuries. These records, which are fragmentary,<sup>6</sup> may be supplemented from the narrative of the Chronicler, who drew from the same sources. The Chronicler has greatly altered the story in harmony with the conditions of his own time, but he has preserved some original data omitted by the compiler of Kings.<sup>7</sup>

Our increased materials commence by presenting us with the most perplexing event in the history of the dynasty of David. We encounter a great apparent paradox. At the

<sup>1</sup> Ibid. 16 f.      <sup>2</sup> 2 Kings viii. 22.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 17.    2 Kings x. 18 ff. describes the brethren of Ahaziah as slain by Jehu.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Chron. xxi. 18 f.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings ix. 27.

<sup>6</sup> Observe, for instance, in the narrative of the revolt against Athaliah, 2 Kings xi., how abruptly Jehoiada is introduced as if he had been already mentioned. Plainly the compiler is here employing only part of the documents at his disposal; see next note.

<sup>7</sup> E.g. the Chronicler in 2 Chron. xxiii. has substituted for the military guard by whom, according to Kings, Jehoiada effected the revolution against Athaliah, the priests and Levites; but he adds in its proper place what the editor of Kings has omitted of the original data, viz. who Jehoiada was: id. xxii. 11.

very time that the revolution in favour of the religion of Jahweh succeeds in Northern Israel, and the house of Ahab is extinguished by it; in Judah, on the contrary, we see a daughter of Ahab seize the throne, after the death of the king her son, slaughter (as she supposed) all the seed of David, and reign securely for a period of six years. How was this possible? How could Judah tolerate so long the one interregnum from which her dynasty suffered? Recent historians have called the fact a mystery, but we find at least partial answers to it in three features of the revolt which overthrew Athaliah, and which is described in detail by the sources.

In that revolt a decisive part is played by a body of foreign troops, called the Carians<sup>1</sup> whose presence is natural at the court of one who was really a Phœnician princess, and by whose aid doubtless she achieved her usurpation. Secondly, it is clear that during her reign Athaliah, whose name, be it remembered, implies a certain recognition of Jahweh, had left untouched His worship in the Temple. This may explain the temporary acquiescence of His adherents in the new régime. But, thirdly, the queen had probably on her side a strong native party. The policy of her house made for increased culture among their peoples. It not only favoured commerce, but, in opposition to the conservative elements of Hebrew society, as represented by the Rechabites, emphasized, in accordance with the characteristic Phœnician polity, the city as the chief factor in national life. Here were sufficient temptations to form a strong Athalian party in Jerusalem. One

<sup>1</sup> Kari, 2 Kings xi. 4. In the consonantal text of 2 Samuel xx. 23 the same name is used for David's bodyguard, but is corrected by the Massoretes to Kerethi. It has been proposed by some modern scholars to make the same correction in 2 Kings xi. 4, but it is more probable that here it is really Carians who are meant: "a famous mercenary people in antiquity" whom "it would not surprise us to find at Jerusalem in the days of Athaliah" (G. F. Moore, *Encycl. Bibl.*).

of the most remarkable features of the subsequent history is the ease with which Jerusalem produced parties in favour of foreign influences. These not only meant a wider and a freer life, but were especially favourable to the enhancement of the City at the expense of the country. Just as a strong Greek faction existed in Jerusalem in Maccabean times, and was enthusiastic for Greek fashions which led to the embellishment of the City and the exhilaration of her life ; so it is natural that among the Jews of Athaliah's time there should be a Canaanite or Phœnician faction inspired by similar motives. The story of the revolution indicates that Jehoiada feared opposition from the City, and relied upon *the people of the land*.

But above all there was the personality of the queen herself. Athaliah was the only woman who ever reigned in Jerusalem till the accession of the widow of Alexander Jannæus in the first century before Christ. It is noteworthy that the Phœnician race produced about her time several strong women : Jezebel, Athaliah, Dido. The attractions of the culture and the worship, which she represented, the support she derived from foreign troops, and the security which she temporarily enjoyed from rebellion through her tolerance of the native religion, could not have existed in so effective a combination without her own strong capacity for organizing. In themselves, therefore, her usurpation and reign are perfectly explicable. The one mystery is why Jehu, in alliance as he was with movements like that of the Rechabites, which had a strong hold on Judah, did not interfere with her. Perhaps he was from the first too much engrossed by the attacks of the Arameans.

In the revolution against Athaliah, we have the first of those many outbreaks, mixed of priests, soldiers and people, which have the Temple courts for their stage, and so often

recur in the history of Jerusalem. The revolt was carefully arranged, but the disorder of the text which describes it disables us from following the exact details.<sup>1</sup> The main features, however, are clear. The author of the movement was Jehoiada the priest, who held hid in the Temple the six-year-old Joash, saved by Jehoiada's wife from the massacre of the rest of Ahaziah's children. Jehoiada's plan was to bring forward in the Temple this sole survivor of David's house, to have him crowned King, and then to put Athaliah to death. The time he chose for this was the Sabbath, and the instruments the soldiery: the Carians and other guards, who kept both the Palace and the Temple. He secured their Centurions, and arranged with these the details of action. Here it is that obscurity falls on the story, the text being uncertain, because hovering between a statement of the usual routine of the guard and directions for their procedure at the crisis. Wellhausen elides verse 6 as a gloss, and explains the rest as follows. He infers that on week days two divisions of the guard were at the Palace and one in the Temple; but that on the Sabbath two were in the Temple and one at the Palace. Jehoiada planned to bring out Joash at that hour on the Sabbath, at which the two divisions who had *come out* from their quarters in the Palace were relieving at the Temple the one about to *go in*, and indeed verse 9 says that the Centurions brought to Jehoiada for the crisis *each his men, those coming in on the Sabbath with those going out on the Sabbath*. This implies that the Palace, where Athaliah was, was for the time divested of the whole guard. The explanation is at first sight plausible and has been accepted by recent writers. But it is hardly credible that in the ordinary routine of the guard all the force should thus be periodically withdrawn from the palace, which, it must be remembered, was in those days still the principal object of their duty. And although the

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xi. 4 ff.

text is difficult, it seems to imply, in verse 7, that Jehoiada directed only two of the bands—defined as *all who come out on Sabbath and keep the watch of the house of Jahweh for the king*—to surround the young king (verse 8). The remaining third has already been assigned by verse 5 to guard the palace.<sup>1</sup> It is true that verse 9 states that the Centurions brought to Jehoiada both the men who turned into quarters on the Sabbath and the men who turned out. But, as we see from the LXX., the text of this verse is uncertain. In our ignorance of the custom of the guard as well as of the stations assigned to them<sup>2</sup> we must leave the matter undecided.

In the story of how the conspirators achieved their end Stade has seen the fusion of two differing accounts,<sup>3</sup> one of which, 4-12, 18b-20, reads the event as wholly political, achieved by Jehoiada and the royal guards; while the second, 13-18a, gives it a religious character, brings into it *the people of the land*, and adds Athaliah's dramatic appearance in the Temple, which the first ignores. Stade's analysis has been accepted by most recent writers,<sup>4</sup> but it seems to me very doubtful. To us it is easy to separate the political from the religious, but what writer of these times would think of doing so? Surely not one who, on Stade's own showing, has described the chief priest as the prime conspirator. Why, again, was the Sabbath chosen for the revolt if not with regard to religion and the people?<sup>5</sup> Besides, the supposed second narrative testifies in verse 15 to the soldiers' share in the transaction, and the first, in verse 19, to the association of the people of the land with the priests and the military.<sup>6</sup> There remain the two state-

<sup>1</sup> So the LXX.

<sup>2</sup> See below.

<sup>3</sup> ZATW, v. 279 ff.

<sup>4</sup> E.g. Kittel, Benzinger and Skinner.

<sup>5</sup> Except on what we have shown above to be the unlikely assumption that *all* the guard was on that day assembled at one time in the Temple.

<sup>6</sup> The hypothesis of a double account takes these clauses to be harmonising insertions.

ments of Athaliah's death, in 16 and 20; but they agree as to where and how this took place; and it would be very arbitrary to suppose that the annalist, not distinguished for his style, could not have thus repeated himself. The story may therefore be regarded as a unity, and the conspiracy as one that was what such a conspiracy in favour of the house of David against Athaliah could not but be: that is, at once political and religious. The movement started with the priest, and naturally he took care to arrange for the support of the soldiers; but he was evidently sure of the people of the land, and probably he chose the Sabbath for his action in order to secure their presence in large numbers. In verse 19 it is said that *the people of the land rejoiced, and the City*—observe how it is distinguished from them—*was quiet*. We see, therefore, that it was against the mixed population of Jerusalem, favourable (for reasons given above) to Athaliah and her worship, that Jehoiada took his precautions. These were successful; the City did not rise. The opposition between the City and the Country at this stage of the history is exceedingly interesting.

As to the topographical details of the narrative, we only learn that the passage of the king between the Temple and the Palace was made by a gate called the Gate of the Foot-Guards.<sup>1</sup> There was probably also a horse-gate, whose name may be disguised in the *Gate of Sur*<sup>2</sup>; but this was not necessarily the same as *the entry of the horses* through which Athaliah sought to escape. This is the earliest proof we have met with of horses being established in Jerusalem.<sup>3</sup>

#### 5. JOASH circa 836–797.

The story of the Temple revolt is succeeded by one of its

<sup>1</sup> רַצִּים.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 6: שַׁעַר הַדָּר, for which the LXX. gives πύλη τῶν ὀδῶν, and 2 Chron. xxiii. 5 שַׁעַר הַיְּסוֹד, *gate of the foundation*. For הַדָּר, הַדִּם has been suggested.

<sup>3</sup> See EXPOSITOR, 1905, pp. 97 f.

administration and repair. The succession of records, which have the Temple for their scene or subject, raises a question that will be better dealt with when we have examined this new addition to them.

Joash was brought up by Jehoiada the priest, and at least so long as the latter survived the king remained loyal to the purer religion.<sup>1</sup> The sanctuary of Baal was destroyed, and the only qualification which the Deuteronomic editor makes in his praise of the new régime is the one usual with him at this date: *the high places were not removed*, or, in other words, the worship of Jahweh was not yet confined to the Temple.<sup>2</sup> The growing importance of the latter, however, its increasing command of the popular regard and consequently of the people's contributions, is well illustrated by the story just alluded to. By this time Solomon's buildings were at least a century old and dilapidated.<sup>3</sup> Orders were given by the young king to the priests to make the necessary repairs from their revenues. Besides offerings in kind, these revenues included three classes of payment in the money of the period, which was, of course, not coined money but weights of metal attested by the king's stamp.<sup>4</sup> There were, first, assessments for religious purposes on individuals; second, freewill offerings; and third, quit-moneys, *sin* and *guilt moneys*—names which probably cover omissions in ritual as well as moral faults.<sup>5</sup> Joash ordered that the first two of these classes of revenue should be devoted to the repairs<sup>6</sup>; and directed

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xii. 2; the Hebrew text is ambiguous; the LXX., *all the days in which Jehoiada the priest instructed him*, is more explicit in its limitation.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xii. 1-4.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xxiv. 7 imputes the dilapidations to *Athaliah the malefactor and her sons* (LXX. ? priests).

<sup>4</sup> 2 Sam. xiv. 26.

<sup>5</sup> The atonement for these in the Levitical legislation was by sacrifices. In the above list nothing is said of payments to the priests for their delivery of the Torôth; cf. Micah iii. 11.

<sup>6</sup> 2 Kings xii. 5 (Engl. 4) must be amended to read thus: *And Joash said*

the priests to see to this individually—each from his own transactions, takings or possessions (? the word occurs only here and is uncertain <sup>1</sup>). Such a direction implies at least the beginnings of those individual and hereditary rights in the Temple revenues which we know to have existed in other sanctuaries of the time.<sup>2</sup>

But the arrangement failed. By the twenty-third year of the king the priests had not repaired the dilapidations. Joash therefore arranged, with their consent, that they should resign their income from the two sources above-mentioned and give it to others to do the work. Jehoiada set a box with a hole in the lid on the right of the entrance to the Temple,<sup>3</sup> and in it the priests of the threshold put all the money that came into the Temple. At intervals, when the box was full, the king's scribe came up from the Palace, weighed the money, and gave it to those in charge of the Temple business, who paid it out to the workmen in wages and for the purchase of materials. The money was confined to repairing the dilapidations; none of it was used

to the priests, *All the money of the hallowed things that is brought into the house of Jahweh: the money that every man is rated at* (read with LXX. כֶּסֶף כָּסָף אִישׁ אִישׁ, and omit the next clause, וְכָסֶף וְכִסְיוֹת שָׂרָיו, as a gloss referring to Lev. xxvii. 2 ff.) and all the money which comes into any man's heart to bring into the house of Jahweh.

<sup>1</sup> מִמֶּנֶּה (v. 6. Engl. v. 5). Following the Targum, the Engl. versions render this *from his acquaintance*, taking the word מִמֶּנֶּה from the root נָכַר. But the word may be as naturally derived from מָכַר, *to exchange, give over or sell*, and is so taken by the LXX, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῦ. Cf. the Assyrian makkeru (the same form as the Hebrew, with, the doubled middle radical) rendered by Delitzsch (*Assyr. Handwörterbuch*) "property," "possessions." It is not improbable that the Hebrew had the same general sense; yet it may rather mean *transactions*. *Encyc. Bibl.* col. 8,848 suggests "customers."

<sup>2</sup> For Babylonia compare Johns, *Babyl. and Assyr. Laws, Contracts and Letters* (1904), p. 215.

<sup>3</sup> The Hebrew of 2 Kings xii. 10 states that the box was set *beside the altar on the right as a man comes into the house of Jahweh*. But the altar lay in the middle of the court; and 2 Chron. xxiv. 8, omitting mention of it, says only that they set the box *outside the Temple gate*. . . . Stade, following LXX. A, reads for הַמִּצְבָּה, הַמִּצְבָּה, *the massebah*; Klostermann אֵצֶל הַמְּזוּזָה הַיְמָנִית, *beside the right doorpost*. If Robertson Smith's argu-



to provide vessels or ornaments for the House.<sup>1</sup> The priests were allowed to retain the sin and guilt moneys.

The story is instructive. The Temple is still a royal sanctuary, and the king has the disposal of its revenues, with the consent of the priests, whose interests are forming but not yet fully vested. The annalist does not conceal the negligence of the priests, as the Chronicler does, who confines to the Levites the blame of not carrying out the repairs. The superior honesty of the lay administrators is emphasized. With the king's hold upon the revenues we may take the fact mentioned further on, that when Hazael of Aram threatened Jerusalem with the forces which had swept across Northern Israel and taken Gath, Joash bought him off with the gifts which he and his predecessors had consecrated to the Temple, as well as with the treasures of the Temple and the palace.<sup>2</sup> These last included, of course, the king's own accumulations of precious metals, partly deposited in the sanctuary for security. But if we may judge from the analogy of other ancient temples, they also comprised the Temple funds, and deposits by private persons. Sanctuaries in those days were banks, and as other monarchs, when they drew upon such stores, either afterwards replaced them or gave an equivalent in land, Joash would doubtless do the same. This is the third instance of the spoliation of the Temple to buy off an invader or bribe an ally.<sup>3</sup>

We can now discuss the question raised by these detailed narratives which have the Temple for their subject or for their scene. Are we to consider them as borrowed from a work which was exclusively a history of the Temple? Or do they belong to the general annals of Judah? The former hypothesis, first advanced by Wellhausen, is much favoured. It may be admitted, that the pillars, Jachin and Boaz, were originally altars (*Rel. of the Semites*, Add. Note L) this might be the solution.

<sup>1</sup> Verses 18 f. The Chronicler reports differently.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xii. 17, 18.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Kings xiv. 26, xv. 18.

at present. Struck by the features which the story of Joash's repair of the Temple and that of Josiah's (ch. xxii., xxiii.) possess in common, Wellhausen<sup>1</sup> proposed to assign them to a pre-Deuteronomic history of the Temple and to trace to the same source the narratives of the Temple revolt against Athaliah and of the rearrangement of the altars by Ahaz<sup>2</sup>; as well as the account of the building of the Temple and the records of its spoliation.<sup>3</sup> Yet in a work written in the interests of the Temple we should hardly have expected to find the subordination of the priests to the king and their gross negligence so explicitly set forth as we have seen them to be in a section of the supposed book which deals with the Temple only; while in others of the alleged extracts the events treated—the Temple building, the crowning of Joash, and the murder of Athaliah, the finding of the law-book, and the successive borrowings from the Temple treasures—have not to do with the Temple alone, but are of the most general political interest.<sup>4</sup> We may therefore consider as insufficient the argument for the existence of a special history of the Temple, and as more probable the hypothesis that these detailed narratives were drawn by the editor of the Book of Kings from the national annals of Judah. But if that be so, we have to infer the rapid growth of the importance of Solomon's Temple. Of this growth the records provide us with the most natural explanations. We see from them that the prominence of the Temple is not the exaggeration of a priestly narrator, but the solid result of causes which may be illustrated from the history of other sanctuaries in the Semitic world. For, first, the Temple in Jerusalem was

<sup>1</sup> 4th ed. of Bleek's *Einleitung*.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xi., xvi.

<sup>3</sup> So also Kittel, Cornill, Benzinger.

<sup>4</sup> Since the above was written I find that Professor Skinner has much the same criticism against Wellhausen's theory, *Century Bible, Kings*, p. 848.

the king's; strongly situated in the closest proximity to the palace and the garrison, which rendered it a natural centre for political movements. The stability of the Davidic dynasty ensured for its priesthood a sense of security and the opportunity to form traditions and rights which cannot have been enjoyed by the priests of any of the sanctuaries in Northern Israel. But, secondly, the Temple, besides being the royal sanctuary, had won considerable command of the national life outside Jerusalem. *The people of the land* came up to it, and the priests could count on their adherence.<sup>1</sup> Thirdly, the Temple was growing in material wealth. Its treasures were accumulating, and when these were taken from it to meet some national emergency they seem to have been quickly restored. To other Temples, kings repaid their forced loans by gifts of lands or new treasure, and that this happened also in the case of the Judæan Temple appears from the fact that there were always funds in it when they were required. But, above even these royal and popular opportunities, with all the training and influence in affairs which they provided, the Temple priesthood enjoyed the inspiration and the credit of the purer religion of which they were the guardians. Everything points to the fact that in politics, as in religion, they played a part similar to that of the prophets of Northern Israel. It is certainly to them that we owe the legal code and most of the other literature of the period.<sup>2</sup>

We see then that the Deuteronomic exaltation of Jerusalem was no sudden or artificial achievement, but the result of a slow growth which took centuries for its consummation, and was due to a multitude of processes, political and religious, of which indeed we have only seen the beginnings.

The Chronicler states that after Jehoiada died Joash,

<sup>1</sup> See above on the revolt against Athaliah.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 285.

enticed by the princes of Judah, forsook the house of Jahweh and worshipped Asherim and idols.<sup>1</sup> Prophets were raised up to testify against him, and one of these he ordered to be stoned in the Temple. With this crime the Chronicler connects the invasion of Hazael, emphasizing the divine justice of the penalty by recording that Hazael's army was a small one compared with [the great host of Judah,<sup>2</sup> and that it destroyed the princes of the land.<sup>3</sup> The Chronicler adds that the same crime caused a conspiracy against Joash, who, overcome by disease, was slain on his bed. The Hebrew text of Kings says that the conspirators *smote Joash in the house of Millo that goes down to Silla*. As it stands this gives little sense, and the versions testify to so early a corruption of the text that it is perhaps vain to attempt to restore it.<sup>4</sup>

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxiv. 15 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Deuteronomy xxxii. 80.

<sup>3</sup> The Chronicler cannot have invented the story (so also Benzinger).

<sup>4</sup> The readiest emendation is suggested by Lucian's version: *at the house of Millo which is on the descent* (of Silla); and Silla may be taken as a *street* or *way* (so Thenius, as if = מִלּוֹ); cf. Assy. sul(l)u. But other Greek versions found no word in the text for *the descent*, and read Silla with an initial Ayin instead of a Samekh, or even as Galaad; cf. Winckler, *Gesch.* i. 178, who places the assassination in Gilead; but this is improbable.

## *THE POVERTY OF CHRIST.<sup>1</sup>*

THE distinctive function of historical criticism being, as its name implies, that of judgment or discrimination of the material placed before it, we cannot expect from it any increment of fact not previously given within the field of its operations. It can sort out, classify, co-ordinate, accept or reject such evidence of the past as has been supplied to it ; it can allow light from all quarters to play upon the objects of its survey, irradiating their relations and indicating certain conclusions regarding them, but it can add nothing. It may stimulate research and assist discovery, but nothing new emerges from under its own hands. As in physical, so in historical science, we require positive observation of hitherto unknown things, and not merely the formulation of what has already become known if we are really to rise above the level at which mathematical restatement on the one hand or criticism on the other begins and carries on its salutary work. The first books of Livy, for example, critically examined, have been long deprived of their credibility, while antiquarian labours and discoveries are continuously increasing the sum of genuine information regarding ancient Rome, and Assyrian excavations promise to provide, in some measure, that illumination of the Pentateuch which criticism had proved to be a desideratum it could not, of itself, supply.

This principle, if principle so self-evident a maxim can be termed, obtains, perhaps, its most important illustration in the case of the historical contents of the New Testament.

<sup>1</sup> Murtle Lecture, University of Aberdeen, February, 1905.

Whatever addition to the facts therein stated is made must proceed *ab extra* ; critical analysis can, at its very best, but sift and rectify by means of recognized criteria. These criteria may themselves be derived from the results of recent thought and research, and so far they may lend to the effect of their application the appearance of novelty ; but unless they have brought with them fresh facts which may not merely serve as embroidery, but can be legitimately interwoven with the substantial tissue of the written record which they are employed to test, they can do no more than eliminate what they find to be false, or alter and transpose what lies before them in apparent disorder. Now, since the whole of the New Testament is concerned with the life and death of our Lord, whatever value modern criticism can justly claim in its endeavour to set these in a proper light must entirely depend on the successful exercise of its discriminating powers upon the canonical books as they have come down to us. No new discovery regarding the life of Jesus has enriched either the gospel narratives or the few references to it in the Epistles of Paul with fresh matter. What has been brought to bear upon them has been either the accepted rules of merely literary and textual criticism or those which guide modern historians in the separation of the legendary from the real, the comparison of existing accounts of contemporaneous events, and the determination of the authorship, as well as of the sources to which the information of the various writers has been due. It is quite true that in the Lives of Jesus, now so common, which have been drawn up on the assumption that there is sufficient material in the New Testament for the compilation of a satisfactory biography, philological, geographical and archæological inquiry has furnished their composers with ornamental appendages to their work in ever increasing quantity, but it may be safely affirmed that absolutely nothing has been brought to the surface which has had the

effect of enlarging our knowledge concerning Christ Himself and the incidents of His sacred career as hitherto and from the dawn of Christianity derived from the New Testament. On the contrary, if the unceasing and strenuous activity of critics, commentators, and controversialists during the last three-quarters of a century, pursued with the utmost liberty of inquiry and discussion, has had any result at all, that result has been mainly distinguished by its limiting and negative character. Nor can this surprise us. The preliminary condition involved in any acknowledgment of the authority of the books of the New Testament to dictate to mankind matters of belief—of their credibility in short—is recognition of the supernatural, which has been openly disowned by the mass of the representatives of “scientific” Biblical criticism. Clearly what remains of the contents of the books when the supernatural is withdrawn can only be an insignificant transcript of material fact, a thin residuum shorn of all religious value. It cannot, of course, be overlooked that men of the very highest ability and scholarship at home and abroad have resisted, and defeated to a large extent, the tendency to humanise the New Testament. Nevertheless it is idle to deny that every one of the *Lives of Jesus* published at the present day, the most orthodox included, bears manifest marks of the influence of the modern positive spirit. The core and essence of all New Testament teaching—to wit, the incarnation of God in Christ together with its incalculable implications—is either altogether dropped out or occupies quite a secondary place beside fanciful, rhetorical, one might say semi-patronising descriptions of the child, the youth or the man Jesus as He has presented Himself to the biographer’s imagination. There is no biography, properly so called, of Jesus either in the Synoptists’ or in St. John’s Gospel. The single end and aim of the Evangelists is to create and sustain belief in Jesus Christ as the Son of God

in the flesh—not to arouse interest in a being of superior humanity by such a story of His life and death as professional critics and authors of our time may be pleased, in the absence of any other, to produce.

Free inquiry into the literary origin and composition of the Gospels has never been prohibited by the Christian Church from the days of Hegesippus downwards. Its latest outcome would seem to show how much they are deceived who look in the New Testament for a Life of Jesus in the sense in which modern historians, whether holding to the right or to the left of the creeds, understand the term. It is admitted on all hands that the source of the evangelical narratives is traditional, and that the traditions could not have been committed to writing either in Aramaic or Greek sooner than at least forty years after Christ's death. It is also generally acknowledged that this traditional source was two-fold, consisting first in the common circulation and repetition among the primitive Christians of *logia* or sayings of our Lord; and second, in the oral transmission of certain incidents occasioning or occasioned by the *logia*, or regarded as memorable in themselves. Combining both, certain memoirs or *ἀπομνημονεύματα*—to use Justin's phrase—were published, setting forth "all things that Jesus began to do and teach until the day in which He was taken up," and depending more or less, according to the inclinations of these various compilers, on the *logia* on the one hand, or Petrine tradition on the other. These memoirs themselves, in the course of time, being professedly a declaration of the "things most surely believed," underwent changes and modifications at the hands of successive editors corresponding to the evolution of Christian doctrine and the struggle for existence on the part of that great potential organism, the Catholic Church, until the final redactions appeared, which became canonical and constitute the Gospels in their present permanent form.



If the foregoing summary statement of the origin of the Gospels be in any degree correct, it is quite manifest that the very utmost care must be taken and the very greatest difficulty encountered in constructing out of them a consecutive and reliable, not to say a complete Life of Jesus. As a matter of fact all the four Gospels offer to the customary historicist, quite apart from any theories as to their authorship and subsequent revisions, an almost insoluble problem, so remarkable are the omissions of what is expected, the presence of what is incapable of explanation, the disdain of chronological order, and the positive assertions of things altogether superhuman and unworldly. When, furthermore, the question of the primary source of their contents and the manner of their own production is considered, according to the hypothesis just indicated, the difficulty already so great of drawing up a Life of Jesus correctly, answering to the position and character assigned Him by the Evangelists, becomes, I venture to say, insurmountable. Not that the Gospels have thereby ceased to be the rule of our belief regarding our Lord, or that they and the rest of the New Testament have failed to furnish us with the sum total, objectively considered, of our holy religion, but that the religious element whereby alone the sacred Scriptures can and ought to be interpreted has been inoperative, and only methods in general use of ascertaining and relating ordinary fact have been brought into play. Given religious faith in Christ as the God-man, and the difficulties vanish, because the interest and importance of His human life are then seen not to be at all due to that life itself but to the Divine life which it incorporated and with which it was inseparably associated. Given no more than belief in His existence as Jesus of Nazareth, and the narrative of His life is buried under a mass of incoherencies, contradictions and impossibilities from which the boldest, the most ingenious

and most sanguine designer of biographies cannot hope to effect its resurrection. In brief, as Neander long ago perceived, the rejection of the Divinity of Christ lies at the bottom of every endeavour to clear the Gospel record of its supposed legendary or mythical portions so as to unveil the positive figure of His humanity as it toiled and taught, suffered and died. But with this denial of the Divine nature of Christ's personality, not merely the Gospels, but every book of the New Testament, become eviscerated and the attempt to utilise them for historical purposes self-condemned, suicidal.

I have reached the point with which it is my purpose to deal in my remaining observations. On the supposition, at which we have arrived, that from the standpoint of modern criticism the evangelical record, tested and estimated by strictly positive standards of investigation, leaves but a slender remnant of material, utterly insufficient for a satisfactory account of the life of Jesus, are we to surrender ourselves to despair? My answer is that we are not, and that starting from facts which are universally acknowledged, we are driven to the conclusion that the New Testament, in declaring the unique Divine incarnation of Jesus, presents words of absolute truth and soberness pregnant with the effect of dissolving the darkness that envelopes the origin and contents of the Gospels. I venture to offer, not an apologetic disquisition, but a view of our Lord which, although confined at the outset within narrow limits, seems to me to expand into a full perspective of His life and work the more our attention is concentrated upon it.

The facts to which I refer are few in number, and, as far as I am aware, have never been doubted or denied. They are no more than two—His poverty and His death by crucifixion. As a third fact, equally recognized as such by all, but not involved in His own personal earthly experience, I shall advert to the immediate rise of Christian belief.

In the midst of the confusion engendered by the interminable speculations and controversies relative to the birth of the Christian religion one cannot help feeling a certain sense of satisfaction in lighting upon some unchallenged and unchallengeable affirmation in connexion with that momentous event. The opportunity of enjoying this pleasure is naturally rare, for any such incontrovertible statement must answer apparently incompatible demands as to the absence of the supernatural and harmony with dogma which the scientific mind on the one hand, and the theological on the other, are bound to impose. No doubt the existence of the Gospels themselves and of the Christian Church during well nigh two thousand years are absolutely beyond the range of dispute, and these, as well as many more extraneous facts of a sure character, have their own relation to the subject specially under review—the life of our Lord. What is wanted, however, is no undeniable statement of circumstances fitted to shed light on His life, but of particulars of that life itself to which all will assent. I set aside as utterly unworthy of any examination the extension of the mythical theory to the personality of Jesus. Only ignorance and unreason can even imagine that extremity of unbelief. That Jesus did actually live in Palestine stands forth, I take it, as sure a fact as that we ourselves exist, and equally certain and of universal acknowledgment it is that He lived a poor and lowly life. It is this latter proposition I now wish to establish.

The references to Christianity in Pagan authors of the first two or three centuries are few, but they are invested, for obvious reasons, with great historical value, although we can hardly say whether their paucity results from ignorance or contempt or actual loss. Brief as the allusion by Tacitus is to Nero's persecution, I think we may infer from his language, as well as from that of his friend, the younger Pliny, in the famous letter to Trajan, something pointing to

the fact under consideration. Had the worldly position of Jesus been one of dignity, His personality would surely have received some kind of special description. Tacitus would have said more than "Christus supplicio affectus erat" had he known Him by repute as more than a common criminal belonging to the lower classes, and Pliny would surely have informed the Emperor of the worldly rank of Him to whom devotion was paid "quasi deo" had his status been deemed worthy of record in any document known to the Proprætor or of remembrance in general tradition. Their relation of events leaves Christ Himself in an obscurity which the Divine honours said to have been rendered Him only deepen. The ribald language employed by Celsus in his "True Word" regarding the parentage of the meanest of "Seriphians," the popular anecdote told by Eusebius of the relatives of Jesus appearing before the Emperor Domitian, who dismissed them as harmless sons of toil, if also sons of David, and the whole tenor of Pagan opinion as reported by Minucius Felix, Justin Martyr and the other apologists, down to the sneers of Julian and of the learned sophists of his day at the Nazarene, show that the poverty of Christ, no less than His Cross, never ceased to be to the classical Greeks and Romans foolishness. That Alexander Severus placed His image in the lararium of the Imperial palace was (if the story be true) a mere piece of sentimental Syncretism. It was taken for granted all along that He was a man of extremely humble birth and condition.

Christian tradition unquestionably confirms and was no doubt the main source of heathen opinion on this point; but I have thought it right to adduce the latter in view of the possibility of the adherents of the mythical hypothesis attributing Christian belief in the outward indigence of Jesus to the desirability of seeing in it the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecy. The lowly king and the 'Ebed

*Jahve*, without form or comeliness, could only appear in an appropriate character and environment, and hence, it may be alleged, the ascription of poverty to Jesus. But the universal testimony and belief of mankind after the Christian era, so far as it is known to us indirectly by the silence of Pagan writers and positively by the abundant and uniform declarations of the followers of Jesus themselves, disprove, if anywhere, the idea of a mythical creation here. No sooner has tradition crystallized itself in the literary form so well preserved throughout succeeding ages than it is marked by no more distinguishing feature than this, that it sets forth Christ as a man destitute of external means and resources. He is the reputed son of a carpenter. Nay (although the reading in Mark is open to dispute)<sup>1</sup> He is Himself a carpenter, having learned a trade like other Jewish youths. It is quite tenable, indeed it seems to be extremely probable, that the word τέκτων, usually translated "carpenter," may be more accurately rendered "builder," that there may be in it a deep symbolism, and that the incident recounted in the Synoptics, where it occurs, may not have been part, after all, of an original Galilean remembrance. But even this possibility will not militate against the conclusion generally drawn from the passage, of the humble and obscure position of the person of whom it tells. Every portion of the Gospel narrative, synoptical or Johannine, accords with this view and deepens the conviction of Christ's complete lack of worldly wealth. He seems to have had no house of His own. The fishermen who were His first disciples plied a poor calling on a fresh-water lake, and it is vain to re-clothe them, as some biographers of Jesus have done, in the dress of well-to-do citizens, bourgeois of Capernaum. If Galilee was as thickly populated and prosperous in Christ's time as Josephus repre-

<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Das Eöangelium Marci übersetzt und erklärt*, p. 45; Orig. c. Celsus, vi. 86.

sents it to have been, he was a very poor man indeed who did not share its prosperity, who was homeless, and whose intimate friends had no money in their purse when, from higher motives than this world could inspire, they went about on His errands. There are some very touching suggestions of the depth of our Lord's poverty scattered throughout all the four Gospels on which it is hardly necessary to dwell. He is largely dependent on the benevolence and hospitality of others, his brethren of the common people. When He wanders through Samaria, His disciples, having left Him to procure provisions, ask one another on their return, "Hath any man brought Him aught to eat?" implying that his receipt of casual charity was quite a normal and usual occurrence. His benedictions on the poor reflect His own condition, as if He were Himself one of the Anijim, or an Ebionite both in principle and practice.<sup>1</sup> In short, the voice of trustworthy tradition on the mode of Christ's living as well as on His shameful manner of death consistently and continuously testifies to His utter poverty and humiliation. The Church has never, from the first, rejected or repudiated it. Irenæus (Latin version) named Christ "homo indecorus," and Jeromè, the "unus homo illo tempore contemptibilis," while later on, to the admiration of the whole Christian world, Francis of Assisi beheld in poverty, and almost in poverty alone, the way to imitation of the Saviour and fellowship with His Apostles.

I am now, I hope, justified in holding the general consent of mankind to the first fact sufficiently established, and proceed to the second, with which it is closely connected—Christ's death by crucifixion.

We are not here concerned with the incontestable evidence for the crucifixion. The broad fact of its occurrence is beyond all challenge, and the diversities of its sad fourfold narration in the New Testament are easily ac-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Loeb, *La Littérature des Pauvres dans la Bible*.

counted for by the fluctuations of the stream of tradition and its entrance into different minds in the sub-apostolic communities so long as sixty years or more after the event. From our present point of view its peculiar interest lies in the corroboration it affords of the testimony otherwise borne to the exceedingly abject and almost servile social station of Jesus among His contemporaries. Crucifixion was not a Jewish mode of execution. Persons convicted by the Sanhedrim of blasphemy against the Mosaic law were, according to the prescriptions of the law itself, stoned to death, as was the proto-martyr. It was a Roman punishment—"crudelissimum teterrimumque supplicium"—and the best authorities on the subject<sup>1</sup> inform us that it might be inflicted in consequence of any one of those modes of passing sentence, namely (1) by the ordinary magistrates as free citizens of Rome; (2) by the pontifices on assailants of vestals or other criminals legally within their jurisdiction; and (3) by any recognized authority on slaves. That the Roman law was adhered to at our Lord's crucifixion, as related in the Gospels, is shown, among other things, by the parting of His garments among the soldiers, an act recognized as a military right in the section of the *Digesta* relating to *pannicularia*, and brought by the Evangelists Matthew and John into relation with a verse of the Psalm the first words of which, as we learn, were among our Lord's last ere He died. The trial must, therefore, have likewise been a Roman one, and consequently the crucifixion must have followed not on a conviction of blasphemy against the Temple or Mosaic law, which it was incompetent for the Roman Governor to find, but on that either of *crimen majestatis*, or of some such offence as might involve the execution of a slave. Now, Pilate distinctly declared that Jesus was innocent of the charges brought against Him, that is to say, so far as they

<sup>1</sup> Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht*, p. 918.

lay within his own cognizance as a judge. Yet he sanctioned the crucifixion of the Innocent One. In the immense difficulty which besets every attempt to explicate the narrated details of this most solemn and hallowed event may we not be permitted to conjecture that Jesus, although not actually a slave, was treated under cover of some juridical fiction or other as if He were one, and that the last and greatest indignity He endured was due, so far as its external causes were concerned, to the misfortune of poverty, which in all ages has exposed its friendless subjects to the risk of injustice and oppression? "He was hanged on a tree." The words suggest to us our own mode of capital punishment, and the mere suggestion appears revolting; but it is no paradox to affirm that the Divine claims put forth on behalf of the sufferer on Calvary must have seemed to the secular intelligence of His time as wild and preposterous as would be similar demands in the name of a man executed in our own prisons. One really cannot wonder, when we think of it, at the Grafton in the Kircherian Museum, and the scoffing spirit of the Roman lad who scratched it as late as a century afterwards.

It will, indeed, remain for ever a marvel absolutely inexplicable to non-Christians, and even to Christians one of the mysteries which only their faith elucidates—this cross of Jesus and the death upon it of the Son of God in "the form of a servant." The Apostle Paul has shown us how to regard it so as to understand its true cause and significance, and to render quite superfluous any answer, satisfactory or otherwise, to the questions put by historical criticism either about the preliminary trial or the parties responsible for the subsequent deed of blood. The *μορφή δούλου* was to him the body of One who was equal with God; of One who, having renounced for the time the glory proper to Divinity, became obedient even unto death. This great fact of the Kenosis, or renunciation, not of His



Divine nature but of His celestial majesty, on the part of Christ, eclipsed in St. Paul's mind every other; and although the possibility exists that his use of the term *δούλος* lends indirect support to the hypothesis which I have just made bold to indicate, employed as it is by a writer who might have been an eye-witness of the crucifixion, there is enough in the whole passage in Philippians to warrant belief in the unmitigated poverty of Christ without straining it to that extreme. Neither here nor in the similar language reminding the Corinthian converts that Christ for their sakes became poor would Paul have so expressed himself had not the words "servant" or "slave" and "poor" connoted a concrete reality familiar to the consciousness of his readers. The almost complete silence of Paul on the life of Christ has often and naturally been the subject of comment, and wears an even more singular and strange look than the darkness that broods in the evangelical record over nearly all of that life except the one or the three years preceding its close. The key to his reticence is manifestly the same as that which is applicable to every other extraordinary feature of the New Testament—the Divine Nature of Christ. Ere Paul wrote his Epistles, and long ere the Gospels were drawn up, communities of worshippers of Jesus Christ had been formed calling themselves Churches of God, who paid the Saviour supreme adoration, believed in His resurrection from the dead, and looked for His coming again. To such communities Paul's letters were addressed. Their existence constitutes, as proposed, the third fact to which attention is invited.

This fact is again one beyond the range of dispute, for the genuine letters of Paul, whether they be four or fourteen in number, have come down to us, and they deal with nothing else than with it and its aspects. The Gospels were composed under influences emanating from these religious societies, and by their members the tradi-

tional sayings of our Lord were preserved and transmitted to posterity, along with the addenda bearing on the occasion of their utterance. It is of the utmost importance to remember that Jesus had lived for thirty, or perhaps fifty, years in Palestine, had finished His ministry, and had passed away without committing a single word to writing, and necessarily prior to the rise of a single tradition regarding Him. Until He became the object of religious worship and belief on the part of so considerable a number of people throughout the world that they could be called collectively an ecclesia, no document whatever that we know of mentioned His name. The Acts of Pilate, the letter of Abgar of Edessa, and the reference to Him in Josephus' *Antiquities* are spurious. The Gospels themselves may cover only one year of His earthly course, leaving us to conjecture no more concerning the rest than that it was spent in poverty and in doing good. The very first notice of Him in books occurs in the Epistles of Paul, who, as we have observed, never alludes to His upbringing or manner of life.

If, then, by any imaginable fortuity, the curtain were suddenly lifted which conceals from us the man Jesus—the Sun of Righteousness indeed, but not yet encircled by the brilliant corona due to the effect of His existence on the life and thought of a later time; if we could view Him for a moment apart from the devotion, honour and reverence begotten by the posterior record, what should we see? We cannot answer the question in any degree proportionate to its profound interest, but this we can reply: We should behold a poverty-stricken man, and therefore, being poor, obscure and unnoticed among the masses to whose number he belonged. But now shift the scene twenty years farther along the stage of time, and what again do we see? No longer this poor man in the flesh, whose figure has disappeared, but crowds of His worshippers who are ready to

die sooner than disown the faith which concentrates itself on nothing else than His person and work. How can the transfiguration be explained? It is not enough to say that He was so good and pure and loving and wise that He attracted to Himself troops of friends who learned from Him the general fatherhood of God, and who made Him, as far as their recollections of Him allowed, their example and guide. That will not fit into the framework given by our earliest informant, the Apostle Paul. Nor will it satisfy the conditions of the problem, as I shall endeavour to show, to allege that He claimed, or others claimed for Him, that He was the Messiah of the Jews, for He had no such rank or status as could invest the claim with those probabilities of right which would have attracted the crowd, and His death, at all events, effectually disposed of its successful vindication. But mark, it was just in His death that His worshippers recognized Him to be Divine, believing it to be the climax of His work on earth, the means of their own salvation, and the portal through which He returned to the Divine glory He had temporarily forsaken. Many of these worshippers of His had known Him personally before He died. Theirs was no belief in abstractions, but in a person familiar to them—a poor, lowly, penniless man. Yet they worshipped Him before He died, and their worship of Him was deepened and renewed by His very death. It became so contagious that from year to year, from century to century, it spread until all the world went after it. The only solution of this great historical enigma, and one which, as I think, we are compelled to accept from the bare consideration of the three facts brought forward, lies in this fourth fact to which the others lead up, that Jesus *was* God, God incarnate. He *was* the God-man. In no other way than by the recognition of this fact can we explain the immediate uprising of the adoration of One who lived like a mendicant and died like a slave. What

signified His outward circumstances to those who beheld God the most holy in Him? These trivial externalities stood in no conceivable relation to the transcendent revelation of which His worshippers were the spectators, unless it were to enhance it by His embodiment of the very quality which in their sacred Scriptures was set forth as the constant antithesis to wickedness. Their first and best concern was with Him as the sinless One, the express image of the Godhead, and hence the earliest exponent of their faith knew not Christ at all after the flesh, and gave his readers no information as to His earthly career, but only as to what He came to accomplish—the redemption of mankind from moral woe through His death and resurrection.

The strongest objection that can be made to the preceding treatment of my subject will rest in all likelihood on the ground of its diminishing the historical authority of the Gospels, first by taking no account of the Messiahship of Jesus, so clearly exhibited there, and, secondly, by ignoring the virgin birth and miracles of Jesus. Now, no doubt, the notion that the true historical substance of the Gospels is constituted by the claim of Jesus to be the Messiah and by its consequences, forms the basis on which all the current biographies of our Lord rest. Nor, certainly, can it be set aside. But in what manner was the hope of a Messiah generally conceived at the time of Christ? Neither as that of a deliverer from the oppressors who destroyed Jerusalem, like the revived Messianism prevalent when John's Gospel was composed, nor as the Messianic hope expressed in Daniel and in the Book of Enoch, the product of national animosities excited by Antiochus Epiphanes, and other enemies of Judaism. That kind of hope had died down ere Jesus was born, and had left a vivid eschatological expectation of heavenly benefits, of a deliverer from moral evils besetting the in-

dividual man, to whom the end of life is always truly the end of the world. "It may be affirmed,"<sup>1</sup> says a scholar well entitled to pronounce a judgement on this point, "that at the time of Christ belief in a Messiah influenced but a small section of Jewish society, and that section one given to admiration of Apocalyptic literature." But Jesus, as a teacher, stood on the old prophetic ground and the whole tenor of His words shows that the higher spiritual hope which Messianic belief had begun to appropriate and assimilate was nothing else than that which He expressed, inspired and encouraged. Far, therefore, from damaging the supposition of an immediate and intuitive, although often dim perception of His Divinity in the minds of those who in the midst of His poverty came into contact with Him, His admitted Messiahship supports and confirms it.

Next, as to the miracles, my purpose being to suggest a demonstration of the superhuman element in the life of Christ, even when these are eliminated, they require no special mention. Assuredly they place stumblingblocks in the religious path of many an earnest man at the present day. Why? Because, among other reasons, those who undertake to depict Christ for the modern public do so, as a rule, in order to satisfy common curiosity or to excite sensational interest in Jesus as a person who said wonderful things and did wonderful deeds, and these are often so wonderful as to be unbelievable. Not so the authors of the New Testament in any of its books, least of all St. Paul. Their statements demand, alike as the *sine quâ non* of their own intelligibility, and as the result of their perusal, belief in the Godhead of Christ. As soon as this is accorded and applied to their interpretation, much that previously staggered the ordinary powers of human judgement becomes clear and credible. Features of the narrative which, on the surface,

<sup>1</sup> V. Baldensperger, *Die Messianisch-apokalyptischen Hoffnungen des Judentums*, p. 215, 8rd ed.

bear a merely historic appearance are seen to cover a symbolism even more instructive to the spiritual sense than the supernatural events they ostensibly relate. Leper-cleansing, miraculous draughts of fish, multiplication of the means of life, and many other incidents recounted by the Evangelists exhibit indeed the power of the Godhead in Jesus, but not as though it became visible in thaumaturgy and charming. The leprosy-cure of sin and the bread of eternal life are alone worthy of the intervention of a Divine Healer and Benefactor. The primary postulate of the restoration to spiritual usefulness and ease of mental comprehension of large portions of the historical books of the New Testament is simply, I repeat, confession of the incarnation of the living God in Christ. In this respect one may draw, after old-fashioned methods, an analogy between Nature and Revelation. Scientists inform us that the phenomena of the material world consist ultimately in the play of forces and movements of which they have no possible means of observation, that physics passes in the last resort into metaphysics. In revealed religion a similar transmutation takes place. History passes into theology; the doctrine explains the narrated fact. Paulinism was actively converting the world to Christ long before the traditions of Peter and his fellow-apostles took published shape, and the men, whoever they were, whose pens put them together in consecutive order were and could not but have been believers in the doctrines of their religion first, and in the facts relative to its external origin second. So is it still. The doctrine of the Divinity of Christ determines the nature of our belief in the recorded details of His life, interprets them, illuminates them and renders them food for the soul. The faith of His first disciples was kindled by their immediate apprehension of the light of His divinity seen against a dark and gloomy background. They felt, as Tertullian says, that the higher the Godhead, the deeper

the humanity. So the faith of His followers through all time is the direct result of their inward contemplation of Him as the Son of God from Eternity, and by and through this faith they understand the Scriptures. The story of His birth shows to them that the beginnings of His manhood are as mysterious as His Godhead, that its roots were absolutely lost among the millions of the poor whom the world will always have with it. He becomes to them the representative man, the second Adam, relationship with whom the meanest on earth can dare to name his natural heritage. Yet He is very God, and His poverty is but the outward type, the vouchsafed manifestation of His infinite grace and unconditioned love. May I venture to hope that such a faith, if not stimulated, has at least not been imperilled by the foregoing remarks?

J. M. ROBERTSON.

*THE ECLECTIC USE OF THE OLD TESTAMENT  
IN THE NEW TESTAMENT.*

IN considering the use and interpretation by our Lord and His disciples of the Old Testament Scriptures one point has been somewhat overlooked, namely, what may be termed the area of quotation; in other words, the comparative use made of the different books. In investigating this point and drawing conclusions from the results it must of course be remembered that we have in the New Testament fragments only of our Lord's words, and of the Apostolic teaching. Consequently the absence of reference to this or that prophet, and to this or that incident in the Old Testament, does not by any means exclude the possibility of reference having been made to such books or incidents by Christ and His Apostles. Still the absence of reference on the one hand in some cases, and the fulness of quotation and reference in others, are facts too significant to be disregarded.

First, as to the absence of quotation. Out of the thirty-nine books which make up the Old Testament there are seventeen from which no direct quotation is made in the New Testament. These books are the following :—Judges, Ruth, 1 Samuel, 1 Chronicles, 2 Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes, The Song of Songs, Lamentations, Ezekiel, Obadiah, Jonah, Nahum, Zephaniah and Haggai. If to these be added Joshua, 2 Samuel and 1 and 2 Kings, from each of which books a single unimportant quotation is made in the New Testament, it will result that, with these slight exceptions, there are no citations from the historical books of the Old Testament from the book of Joshua to that of Esther inclusive.

It is true that, apart from direct quotation, references are made to incidents and characters in these books.



For instance, several examples of the inspiring energy of faith are drawn from the historical books of the Old Testament by the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and our blessed Lord cites the lesson of the prophet Jonah in a passage of profound significance. Still the fact remains that as a special basis of New Testament teaching the history of the Judges and that of the Kings of Israel and Judah are, to a great extent, ignored. And—what is even more instructive and germane to the object of this paper—while the actual history of the Babylonish captivity and the return to Jerusalem, as narrated in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah, are passed over in silence by the New Testament writers, the glorious hopes which arose out of the dark days of exile, as expressed in the glowing language of Isaiah ii., furnish a greater number of quotations in the New Testament than any other portion of the Old Testament except the Psalms.

The absence of direct quotation from the great prophet Ezekiel is remarkable,<sup>1</sup> even if the verbal parallelism of 2 Corinthians iii. 3 and vi. 16 with Ezekiel xi. 19, xxxvi. 26, and xxxvii. 27 be regarded as quotation. The influence, however, of this prophet is traceable in several passages of the New Testament, of which<sup>2</sup> Eichhorn cites Romans ii. 24, Romans x. 5, Galatians iii. 12, 2 Peter iii. 4, as instances, and in the language and imagery of the Apocalypse there is an undoubted reference to this book, especially in the closing chapters; compare, for instance, Revelation xviii. 1 foll. with Ezekiel xxvii. 13 foll., and Revelation xxi. 3, 10, 12, 15, 16, with Ezekiel xxxvii. 27, xl. 1 foll., xlviii. 31–34, xl. 3, 5, xliii. 16.

Turning now to the books of the Old Testament from which quotations are made with more or less frequency, we

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Swete does not include Ezekiel in his list of quotations from the LXX. Dr. Skinner, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible*, says:—"He is not quoted expressly by any New Testament writer."

<sup>2</sup> See Kitto's *Bib. Dict. sub voc. Ezekiel*.

find that, in regard to New Testament citation, the Psalms and the prophecies of Isaiah hold a leading and pre-eminent position. "Upon a rough estimate," writes Dr. Swete, "the passages directly quoted from the Old Testament by writers of the New Testament are 160. Of these 51 belong to the Pentateuch, 46 to the Poetical Books and 61 to the Prophets. Among single books the Psalter supplies 40 and Isaiah 38; i.e., nearly half of the passages expressly cited in the New Testament come from one or other of these two sources."<sup>1</sup> Of the remaining books, Genesis, Exodus and Deuteronomy are most frequently referred to or quoted.

A mere enumeration like this, however, does not carry us far. As has been already intimated, the argument *a silentio* cannot be pressed; and reasons will readily suggest themselves why certain portions of the Old Testament should not have been noticed by the New Testament writers. Still with these facts before us it is worth while to examine further why prominence should have been given to special books or passages, and to consider whether some guidance for our own study and application of the Bible may not emerge from such examination.

And here the first and by far the most important point to consider is our Lord's use of quotations. The books from which passages are directly cited by Jesus are—Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, the Psalter, Isaiah, Daniel, Hosea, Zechariah, and Malachi. Historical references are made to Genesis, Exodus, 1 Samuel, 1 Kings, Jonah and Daniel. That is to say, fourteen books only out of the thirty-nine which compose the Old Testament are quoted from or referred to by our Lord. On the other hand, when the risen Saviour preaches His own gospel on the way to Emmaus (Luke xxiv.), or in arguing with the Pharisees (John v. 39),

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, p. 386.

He regards the Scriptures as an inspired whole testifying throughout of Himself. Of such comprehensive surveys of Holy Scripture, modelled, as we cannot doubt, on our Lord's words, we have examples in the defence of St. Stephen and in the addresses of St. Paul at Antioch in Pisidia and elsewhere. But in neither case are we able to detect the particular passages on which stress is laid.

The Gospels, however, present valuable evidence of definite Messianic prediction adduced by our Lord Himself, as in the proclamation of His mission in "the acceptable year of the Lord" (Luke iv. 18-19; compare Isaiah lxi. 1, 2), and in the fulfilment by His own ministry of the prophetic Messianic pictures in Isaiah (Matt. xi. 5, xiii. 14, 15; compare Isaiah xxix. 18, vi. 2, 10), and of the story of Jonah by His burial and resurrection.

Such definiteness of reference to fulfilment by our Lord Himself may be distinguished from the more general citations by the Evangelists, which sometimes rather suggest a parallelism than a fulfilled prediction.

In some of our Lord's citations there is a striking unexpectedness of application, as in the evidence for the rejection of the Jew and the admission of the Gentile, in incidents from the lives of Elijah (1 Kings xvii. 8) and Elisha (2 Kings vii. 3), the repentance of Nineveh (Jonah i. 17), and the visit of the Queen of Sheba to Solomon (1 Kings x. 1-13).

But this unexpectedness of application is still more strikingly illustrated by our Lord's interpretation of particular texts; as, for instance, when He teaches that the true character of God, as a God of the living, and also the immortality of the human soul, are deducible from the words spoken to Moses "out of the midst of the bush" (Luke xx. 37 and Exod. iii. 6); or as when He shows the deep significance of such passages as: "I will have mercy and

not sacrifice" (twice quoted Matt. ix. 13; and xii. 7, see Hos. vi. 6); and "The stone which the builders rejected, the same was made the head of the corner" (Matt. xx. 42, see Ps. cxviii. 22), and the origin and primæval obligation of marriage (Matt. xix. 4, 5, see Genesis i. 27, ii. 24, v. 2).

Another important note in our Lord's treatment of the Old Testament is His recognition of the progressive character of revelation. His teaching in the Sermon on the Mount is founded on the law, but leads on to a higher level. What was said to "them of old time" is superseded by the law of the new covenant (Matt. v. 17 foll.). And it is important to observe that sometimes the ideal to be arrived at is a reversion to a primitive perfection, as in the last instance cited above, the ideal conception of marriage is far higher and purer than the enactments of the Mosaic law. And only by such reversion is the approach to divine perfection (Matt. v. 48) even conceivable.

Such advance in moral teaching is of course also observable in the inspired reflexion on the part of Israel by its own prophets. The teaching of the most spiritual passages of the Psalter rises far above the ethical level of the times of the Judges; and the approval passed on the acts of Jehu by contemporary prophecy (2 Kings x. 30) is reversed by the maturer judgment of Hosea (chap. i. 4). Again, the older theory of transmitted guilt is exchanged for that of personal responsibility for sin by the authoritative teaching of Ezekiel (chap. xviii. foll.).

That Old Testament history has its solemn lessons for posterity is abundantly proved by our Lord's references to such examples as that of the Flood, and of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah. But it is worthy of remark that no reference is made by our Lord Himself to such signal instances of providential working as the

deliverance from Egypt, the Exile in Babylon or the Return, or to the building of the temple by Solomon, or its rebuilding in the time of Ezra and Nehemiah, or to the Maccabean struggle. Of the Kings of Israel and Judah after the disruption of the Kingdom not one is even named. The only historical allusions relating to that period are those concerned with the contemporary prophets, as Elijah, Elisha and Jonah, and Zechariah, the priest.

Of historical personages three are prominent in our Lord's teaching,—Abraham, Moses and Elijah.

The dignity of Abraham as father of the elect people, and as the host of the banquet of the Kingdom, is recognized (Matt. viii. 11; Luke xiii. 28, vi. 22, xix. 9), and, more than that, as in some mysterious way having a vision of the Christ across the centuries (John viii. 56).

The popular exaltation of Moses is accepted, but both corrected and amplified. He is still the authoritative teacher, and the representative of the first Covenant, which Jesus Christ came not to destroy but to fulfil (Matt. v. 17, viii. 4, xvii. 3). He is more than that. He is a witness for Christ (John v. 45), and a prophet of His coming (Luke xxiv. 27). On the other hand, Jesus corrects the Jews when they attribute the gift of the heavenly bread to Moses rather than to God (John vi. 32).

In recognizing the greatness of Elijah Jesus again responds to popular feeling. As Moses was representative of the law, Elijah is representative of the prophets (Matt. xvii. 3), and to him the great task is assigned of preceding the Messiah and restoring all things. And this task John accomplished, coming in the Spirit and power of Elijah (Matt. xvii. 11-22).

There is one trait in our Lord's use of the Old Testament which is not directly stated in the Gospels, but may with some certainty be inferred; namely, the

extension, so to speak, of the quotation to its context. This involves the knowledge of whole passages of Scripture by heart or memory—a thought specially suggestive in reference to these words from the Cross, which are taken from Psalms xxii. and xxxi. The first, read as a whole, is not a Psalm of despair but of hope and final victory: “They (the nations of the future; comp. Isa. lx. 3) shall come and shall declare His righteousness unto a people that shall be born, that He hath done it” (Ps. xxii. 31). And in Psalm xxxi. the writer, though in the deepest distress, and surrounded by danger and treachery, begins and ends with expressions of perfect trust in Jehovah.

The above remarks by no means present an exhaustive treatment of the great and interesting subject of our Lord’s use and interpretation of the Old Testament, but they will perhaps be found sufficient to illustrate and confirm the conclusions aimed at in this paper.

The use of the Old Testament Scriptures on which the chief stress is laid by the Apostles and disciples of our Lord is indicated by St. Luke’s phrase “shewing by the Scriptures that Jesus was the Christ” (Acts xviii. 8). An early proof of this is found in St. Peter’s speech on the Day of Pentecost (Acts ii. 14–36) and in St. Paul’s discourse in the synagogue at Antioch in Pisidia (Acts xiii. 16–41) already referred to. St. Peter quotes from Joel to show that the signs of the Messianic age had been manifested; and from Psalms xvi. and cx. in order to point to their fulfilment in the Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ.

The scope of St. Stephen’s speech (Acts vii.) is not, strictly speaking, Messianic. The line of defence is variously interpreted. But one leading thought at least is that the rejection of a prophet by Israel was by no means decisive against his divine mission or credentials. This he shows by a rapid historical retrospect. The abrupt change in the argu-

ment at verse 51 is sometimes explained by supposing an angry interruption of the speech by the Council. It is, however, equally probable that St. Stephen had reached the point in the history of Israel at which he desired to stop—the commencement, namely, of the divided kingdom. If this be so, the silence of St. Stephen on that period coincides in a remarkable way with what we have seen of our Lord's teaching, and also with the discourse of St. Paul at Antioch, who does not trace the history of Israel beyond David (Acts xiii. 36). It coincides also with the historical notes on the heroes of faith in Hebrews xi., where, after the mention of David, the writer goes on to allude to the martyrs of the Maccabean period.

With St. Paul the revelation through Jesus Christ cast a new and wonderful light on the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In Christ a mystery or divine secret was revealed (Eph. i. 9). All through past ages a divine purpose had been at work, and a Divine Person had been moving and speaking in terms which were only made manifest and clear in the fulness of time by the gospel of Christ. To St. Paul the Scriptures, which from his childhood he had studied in ignorance, became literally a new book, instinct throughout with the living Christ. Words seem to fail the Apostle in his effort to describe the marvel of this new light. The secret of history was revealed at length, and in a special manner, to him: "God having made known unto us the mystery of His will, according to His good pleasure which He purposed in Him unto a dispensation of the fulness of the times, to sum up all things in Christ" (Eph. i. 10).

This, then, is the Christian view both of the Old Testament and of history as St. Paul teaches. And it is interesting to note that, to judge by the number and weight of quotations from the Old Testament, St. Paul founds or illustrates his thesis chiefly by reference to the Pentateuch,

the Psalter and the book of Isaiah, the same parts of the Old Testament which are cited so largely by our Lord.

The Epistle to the Hebrews, as would naturally be inferred from its subject and aims, is full of references to the Old Testament. It is, as Professor Swete remarks, "in great part a catena of quotations from the LXX." The argument of the first portion of this great Epistle is directed to show the pre-eminence of Christ in comparison with the greatest of the Old Testament characters. Without going further into that argument it is enough to point out here how true to Christ's teaching the argument is, and therefore how legitimate is the use thus made of the Old Testament Scriptures. For, like the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, Christ shows of Himself that He is greater than the angels, for they ministered unto Him (Matt. iv. 11; Heb. i. 6); greater than Abraham, before whom He was (John viii. 58; comp. Matt. iii. 9 and Heb. xiii. 4); He was greater than Moses, whose law He came to fulfil and enrich (John i. 17; Heb. iii. 3-6); greater than Aaron, as being the mediator of a better Covenant, and a Priest of a higher order (comp. John xvii. 19 with Heb. v. 5, 6, 10); greater than David, who called Him Lord (Matt. xxii. 43); greater than Solomon (Matt. xii. 42) and the prophets, who spake of Him (Matt. xxi. 37).

The later chapters of the Epistle to the Hebrews exhibit the spiritual teaching of all history. It is faith, or the clear intuition and grasp of the unseen divine reality, that gives the key to the interpretation of all that was noblest and most inspiring in the annals of the chosen people.

As every Christian will desire to study the Scriptures as Christ studied them, the first question to be solved is whether this is possible. Have the extended investigations and deeper knowledge of history and of nature precluded the possibility of deriving the same spiritual instruction



from the Bible, which Christ and His Apostles taught us to find in it ?

To the present writer one answer only seems possible to this question. The spiritual teaching founded on history or tradition or on science as apprehended at the time is strengthened instead of being weakened by the deeper knowledge of both, which is indeed, the revelation divinely made to the present day. It is impossible to state here even in outline the grounds of his conclusion. But a moment's reflection will show both the inconceivability and, for spiritual teaching, the needlessness of the revelation to a primitive people of the last results of historical and scientific research.

What was needed for Israel was such a revelation of the being of God, of the creation of the world and of man, as would enable the chosen people to avoid the idolatry and the vices of surrounding nations.

It follows, then, that all through the ages, and not least in the present day, the spiritual side of the Old Testament is of paramount importance, and that, deeply interesting as are investigations into the external history and the antiquities and geography of the Bible, neither the inquiries themselves nor the instruction founded on them are, strictly speaking, either spiritual or even theological. This conclusion seems justified by the comparative silence with which the history of the kings of Israel and Judah is passed over in the New Testament. The point is not unimportant in view of the disproportionate educational value attached, from the Universities downwards, to an exact knowledge of the historical books of the Old Testament. "What is valuable in history," writes Bishop Creighton, speaking of history in general, "is a general idea of the progress of society and intelligence." Applied to Biblical study the meaning of this is that, as distinct from names and dates, the value of Holy Scripture is to be found in its divine guidance of life and in its revelation of the meaning and

purpose of history culminating in Christ. (Eph. i. 10; comp. Ps. xxxiii. 10).

The results, then, of the investigation which we have lightly sketched point to a change in the educational use of the Old Testament. If we search the Scriptures of the Old Testament as Christ has taught us to search them, we shall find that they testify of Him, and that the passages in them which treat of the majesty, the love and the power of Jehovah are reflected in the life and acts and character of the Incarnate Word as revealed in the New Testament.

And, if the true value and inspiration of the Old Testament are seen to lie in its divine teaching and revelation rather than in its narrative and description, the survey which we have taken also proves incontestably that certain books are more calculated than others to convey the inspired message from God to man. Of the 160 passages directly quoted from the Old Testament by writers in the New Testament, as we have already seen, nearly half come from the Psalter and the Book of Isaiah, and to these should be added many portions of the Pentateuch.

From these facts the inference is irresistible, that the teaching of the New Testament rests more on those passages of the Old Testament than on other parts; and that in these books inspiration has risen to its highest point. On the whole this pre-eminence has been recognized by the Church in the liturgical use of the Old Testament, and by the religious consciousness of Christians.

But a failure to distinguish the comparative wealth of inspiration in the "divers portions" of the Bible has led sometimes to a perverted conception of Biblical study; and sometimes—a far more serious matter—to a perversion of national religion. An example of the first is the pious but mistaken habit of reading the Bible through from

beginning to end without due regard to the relative value of the different parts. But a wider and graver mischief, arising from the same cause, has been the tendency, at certain epochs of history, to accept, as principles of thought and action, the wild justice of the period of the Judges, or the zeal of Elijah, rather than the peaceful visions of Isaiah, or those Psalms which anticipate the precepts of the gospel.

ARTHUR CARR.

"A priest? ay, a priest of Baal to be bound and slain as at the brook Kishon."—*Old Mortality*, chap. vi.

### THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SEED.

THAT the quality of the fruit depends upon the character of the seed which has been sown is the fundamental law of growth. *Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap.* That we know from experience to be true of this world, and Scripture teaches that it is true of the next as well. It does not need explanation. But there is another law of growth, not quite so obvious, which equally governs the natural and the spiritual order, and which at first sight—but only at first sight—seems to contradict the law that we reap what we sow. It is enunciated by St. Paul in the words: *That which thou sowest is not that body which shall be.*

The fruit is not identical with the seed, although it is largely affected by the good or bad quality of the seed. An ordinary observer—one who has no special knowledge of botany or agriculture—were he shown the seed, could not even make a guess as to what the appearance of the fruit would be like. From the “bare grain” we could not predict, unless we had previous experience of its powers, what manner of fruit it would yield. There is entire continuity of life between the acorn and the oak; but continuity of growth does not mean identity of form. Nay, it is rather the other way. It is just because the acorn is alive, because its life is a continuous growth, that the beginning is unlike the end, the seedling unlike the fruit. The seed grows secretly, but it *grows*, although it is out of sight.

The Transformation of the Seed; that is a process which is exemplified daily in every department of human life and thought; and it is of importance that we should learn to recognize this law of transformation as a fundamental law of nature—that is, as a law of God.

1. And, first, it governs not only the vegetable kingdom, but the animal kingdom as well. During the last fifty years no truth has been more clearly revealed to scientific research than the truth of the continuity of life, amid the manifold variations of form and structure which the world of nature presents. It has become plain that, not only in this or that process of organic growth, but in *every* process the beginning is unlike the end. No living being can remain unchanged from day to day, from year to year; no race of living beings can remain unchanged from age to age. Even man himself, the highest in the scale of earthly beings, does not remain unchanged from generation to generation. And the whole course of his extraordinary history, beginning it may be with the mass of jelly on the shores of some primeval ocean and ascending step by step through all the grades of animal life, affords a stupendous illustration, from the history of our race, of the law that continuity is consistent with and even presupposes divergence of outward form. We look back to the beginning from the end which we have reached, and we feel tempted in pride to say, "It cannot be; this was not the seed of our race." But the words which St. Paul applied to a greater change make us pause, and his peremptory rebuke suggests to us that it is not Christianity which is at variance with scientific truth, but our own fond traditions. *Thou fool*, he says, *that which thou sowest is not the body which shall be.* The end is not like the beginning, for the seed has been transformed.

2. It is not only in outward nature that this law holds good; we may trace its operation in the history of human thought. For in the departments of politics and of religion alike, the ideas which live and propagate themselves are not forever confined to the form of embodiment which they assumed at the first. They are capable of endless adaptation and development, in correspondence with the changing

needs and circumstances of men. And the transformation is always disconcerting to those who have not realized that men's needs and circumstances *do* change as the generations pass, and that a new environment demands new applications of the old principles. But the true conservative is the man who is not afraid to put the old truth in the new form in which alone it can be understood by, or be profitable to, the people of his time. The fruit is unlike the seed to the superficial observer; but between seed and fruit there is a true continuity of growth.

It would be tempting to apply the principle to politics, were this the place for such digressions. But without entering into that field of controversy, it is worth while to consider this principle of the transformation of the seed in reference to two of the greatest revolutions that have taken place in human thought on religious matters.

(a) The transition from Judaism to Christianity, from Moses to Christ, may from one point of view be rightly styled a revolution. So it seemed at certain moments to St. Paul. He held the bondage of the law and the freedom of the gospel to be absolutely opposed to each other. He felt, and it was a sorrowful thought, that at his conversion he had broken with the historic past. And clearly there was much which might be urged in support of such a view. The spirit of Christianity was so different from that of Judaism in its liberality and in its large-heartedness, in its substitution of the ideal of universal brotherhood for the narrow patriotism of a petty province, that it were natural to say, *This* cannot be the outcome of *That*. Here is revolution, not evolution. But St. Paul himself, in other passages, expounds the truer conception of this great change. The law was a schoolmaster leading men to Christ; it was the necessary preliminary to the fuller and larger revelation. The gospel is unlike the law: there can be no doubt of it. But for all that it is the consummation

of the law. The Lord Christ did not come *to destroy the law and the prophets*, although people thought so. He came *to fulfil*; and He was Himself the fulfilment of the law. The ideal of a national Messiah of Israel was the seed of the larger and more splendid ideal of a Saviour of the world. The fruit was, indeed, unlike the seed; and yet it was the seed sown by the Providence of the Eternal in the early ages of Israel, which grew at last into this rich fruit.

(b) May not something similar be said of the great religious movements of the sixteenth century? When at the Reformation the English Church repudiated the increasing and intolerable claims of the See of Rome, it must have seemed to many a simple son of the Church as if an irrevocable breach with the historic past had been made. The new forms of public worship were unlike the old in much that appealed to the eye and to the ear. And, what is of more importance, there were some doctrinal differences between mediæval Christianity and the Christianity of the Renaissance and the Reformation. It would have been natural enough for an imperfectly instructed churchman to acquiesce in that view of the situation which, then as ever since, was advanced by Rome, and to accept the position that he was, in fact, the advocate of a new religion. But not so did the great leaders of the Reformation speak. They knew that to maintain the essentials of life, it may be necessary to discard the excrescences which have gathered round the living body. They were not afraid of being told that the fruit was unlike the seed in outward form. And so in these countries, at least, a real continuity with Catholic antiquity was preserved by the Reformed Church of England, a continuity of faith and organism alike. The church of the seventeenth century emerged as the true heir of the church of the fifteenth. *The old things had passed away*, but they were not lost; *they became new*.

They lived, and do live for us and our children, in that form which God's providence had prepared.

3. But St. Paul's thought of the transformation of the seed must not be confined to the history of ideas, however profound and significant. It is true of the growth of the individual soul, here and hereafter. As to the future, his application of the parable is not to be mistaken. As Christ (he explains) was raised from the dead, the same, yet not the same, so shall it be with those who are saved by His mercy and protection. They shall rise again after the great crises of death and judgment to a new and glorified life. Is it to be thought of as a bodily life? Yes, for we cannot otherwise be our very selves. We shall bring with us all that we have been, all that we have made ourselves. But is it to be the same material body of flesh and blood, the persistent questioner asks? And St. Paul is almost angry at the stupid misunderstanding that could take so gross a view. *Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not that body that shall be.* This fruit is not the same as the seed. This is the lesson of the ages, of nature and of history, taught by God in His universal providence. Resurrection is Evolution, the rising out of what we were to higher and nobler opportunities. *God giveth the seed a body as it pleased Him (ἡθέλησεν)*—not of arbitrary will or caprice, but *as it pleased Him*, at that epoch of creation when He ordained the laws by which nature is ruled. *Each seed a body of its own*; for as each type of faculty has its own peculiar type of bodily environment here, suitable to its needs, so shall it be hereafter. To every seed its own spiritual body, a body which is the inevitable consequent of its previous history, and which for all that is not comparable to the old body of earth. Resurrection is Evolution; for the old is not destroyed, but transfigured and transformed.

4. *That which thou sowest is not that body which shall be.*



Here is the secret of hope for each man who desires to do something with his life, his gifts and his opportunities, for God and his fellows, for his country, for his Church. Which of us all does not desire it? But we do not reach our ideals. We toil and strive, with courage and resolution—it may well be; but in one fashion or another disappointment awaits us day by day. We look for the promise of the harvest, and lo! it is not what we had tried to sow. Much of the seed has been wasted; none of it has come to perfection. Nay, for the end is not yet. *Shew Thy servants Thy work and their children Thy glory* is the prayer of faith and courage. We must be content with sowing, and leave the harvest for our children to reap. That which we sow is no true measure of that which they will gather; and it cannot measure at all the fruition of the seed in the fulness of time. So is it too with our own poor lives; so is it with the growth of our own souls.

And if we desire to lift up our own eyes in hope to

... "that one far off divine event,  
To which the whole creation moves,"

to that vision of the future harvest when the ripe fruit shall be gathered, while the utterly bad is cast away, we shall do well to burn into our hearts the thought that the process of growth is always going on, secretly but surely, growth which is either an evolution or a degradation. In any case, the fruit cannot be what we see, or what others think they see; it will be either better or worse than the seed. Here is our warning and our hope. *That which thou sowest is not the body that shall be.*

J. H. BERNARD.

## *THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.*

### (5) THE INTELLECTUAL VIRTUES.

THERE is no more serious charge which the historian of European Morals brings against early Christianity than the habitual disregard which, he says, it showed towards the virtues of the intellect. The triumph of the new faith, he declares, meant "the decisive overthrow of intellectual freedom"; the period which followed the conversion of Constantine should probably be placed in all intellectual virtues lower than any other period in the history of mankind; that noble love of truth, that sublime and scrupulous justice to opponents, which was the pre-eminent glory of ancient philosophers, was for many centuries after the destruction of philosophy almost unknown in the world.<sup>1</sup> This adverse judgment certainly does not contain the whole truth; nevertheless, there is more of truth in it than a Christian man likes to think. Not in the early centuries of its history alone, but through the whole period of its existence, the Christian Church has been slow to do honour to the virtues of the intellect. The duty of thinking, the sacredness of fact, the fearless love of truth, the obligation to rid one's self of passion and prejudice, have perhaps never received at the hands of Christian men the full and ungrudging recognition which is their due. One thing, however, may be unhesitatingly claimed for Christianity, viz., that whatever its failures in this regard may have been, they belong rather to the sphere of its manifestation in history than to its original spirit and character as these are revealed in the New Testament. Read the Church's record through the centuries as we may, surely the last charge which any fair-minded interpreter could bring against the Epistles of St. Paul would be that their author had

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. i. pp. 176 (footnote), 428; vol. ii. p. 15.

made a virtue of credulity or had put the human intellect in chains. These remarkable documents which, next to the four Gospels, constitute our earliest and most authoritative exposition of the mind of Christ, are remarkable for nothing more than for the reverent freedom and daring with which the Apostle allows his mind to play around the solemn themes of which he writes. And it is to this general intellectual attitude rather than to specific "texts" which can be singled out for quotation—though these, as we shall see, are by no means wanting—that we now turn in order to learn what may be called the ethics of the intellect according to St. Paul.

### I.

In the first place, St. Paul was a thinker. He belongs, as Sabatier says, to the family of powerful dialecticians; "he ranks with Plato, with Augustine and Calvin, with Schleiermacher, Spinoza, Hegel. An imperious necessity compelled him to give his belief full *dialectic* expression, and to raise it above its contradictories. Having affirmed it, he confronts it at once with its opposite; and his faith is incomplete until he has triumphed over this antithesis and reached a point of higher unity."<sup>1</sup> Immediately after his conversion he went away into Arabia that in the desert solitudes he might think out and make his own the new revelation which had come to him<sup>2</sup>; and from that time to the day of his death his mind was steadily at work pushing back the frontiers of that boundless kingdom of truth into which he had entered. That St. Paul was already in possession of all the main elements of his gospel when he set out on his first missionary journey it does not seem possible to doubt; not less certain is it that throughout his whole life "the thinker kept pace with the missionary,"<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *The Apostle Paul*, p. 89.

<sup>2</sup> Gal. i. 17.

<sup>3</sup> As an illustration of an "outsider's" appreciation of the intellectual

the one entering into new fields of thought as the other pressed into new fields of service. Indeed, to St. Paul to think was as natural and as necessary as to breathe, and it is safe to assert that, dominant as was the authority with which Christianity ruled him, it must have remained forever a thing wholly foreign and alien to him had it not appealed to and satisfied his reasoning soul. Human nature, it has been well said, craves to be both religious and rational; and to St. Paul of all men a religion that would not bear thinking about would have been as savourless salt, fit only to be trodden under foot of men. The proof of all this lies, of course, in the Pauline Epistles. Yet, curiously enough, their striking intellectual quality is perhaps one of the last things of which the average reader takes any note. St. Paul as a man of emotion he can understand and appreciate; St. Paul as a thinker belongs to another world into which he will rarely take the trouble to follow. It is an easy and a pleasant thing to sit and warm one's self in the fervent heat of the Apostle's glowing pages where every argument is a fire kindled from the writer's own heart; it is a far harder thing, which few are willing to attempt, to join one's self to the Apostle's company and seek to learn his mighty stride. And so it sometimes comes to pass that while in the house of the stranger, where his gospel has no place, St. Paul as a thinker is a welcome guest, he still waits admission on the threshold of those who, because they are "his own," should have been the first to receive him.

Not only was St. Paul a thinker himself, but, as his letters plainly show, he expected his converts to be thinkers

greatness of St. Paul I may quote the following from Froude's *Carlyle's Life in London*: "Of all human writings, those which perhaps have produced the deepest effect on the history of the world have been St. Paul's Epistles. What Carlyle had he had in common with St. Paul extraordinary intellectual insight, extraordinary sincerity, extraordinary resolution to speak out the truth as he perceived it, as if driven on by some internal necessity" (vol. ii., p. 286).

also. Now, while it is probably true, as recent writers like Ramsay and Dobschütz have pointed out, that the early Christian Churches were by no means so exclusively composed of the poor and uncultured as has often in the past been supposed,<sup>1</sup> yet these without doubt formed the main body of the converts in each of the communities founded by St. Paul. And it was to them no less than to their more highly educated fellow-Christians that letters like the Epistles to the Romans and the Ephesians, with their elaborate arguments and profound mysticism, were addressed. We get some idea of the demand which the Apostle did not hesitate to make on the minds of his readers when we remember that writings, to the careful exposition of which many modern Christian congregations would listen with ill-concealed weariness, he evidently expected would prove both intelligible and edifying to illiterate slaves, but just rescued from the ignorance and vice of heathenism. Is it, therefore, quite correct to speak, as Professor Knight does, of the "unreflective manner" in which the first disciples embraced the Christian religion? They seized it first of all, he says, "by intuition, by unsophisticated feeling, and the response of the

<sup>1</sup> See Ramsay's *Church in the Roman Empire*, pp. 44, 147; and *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 133. "The picture usually formed of the community at Corinth," says Dobschütz, "represents it as composed of merely poor and uncultured people. I do not believe that correct. Paul, it is true, speaks of 'not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble.' We must distinguish, however, between 'not many' and 'not any.' On the contrary, Paul indicates that people of superior rank, and no inconsiderable number of them, did belong to the Church. . . . A man like Stephanas (I. xvi. 15) must have been well off. Lawsuits concerning property were certainly not raised by slaves and poor seamen. The Apostle asked the Church for a large contribution to the charitable fund which he was collecting. If, so far as he was himself concerned, he renounced all support from the Corinthians, it was not because the Church was poorer than others, but on special grounds. People who discussed the superiority of Alexandrian allegory, or of a simple style of preaching, could not have been without considerable culture." (*Christian Life in the Primitive Church*, p. 14.) See also Orr's *Neglected Factors in the Study of the Early Progress of Christianity*.

heart," while reflection upon it followed afterwards.<sup>1</sup> There is truth in this doubtless; certainly it was not as a philosophy, nor in the region of the intellect, that Christianity first laid hold on mankind. But to speak as if, though the heart was stirred, the mind remained dormant and "unreflective," is to do scant justice to the converts of St. Paul. What, we may well ask, would "unreflective" readers have made of the Epistle to the Ephesians? Dr. Stalker seems much nearer the truth when he says, "Christianity, as it went through the cities of the world in St. Paul's person, must have gone as a great intellectual awakening, which taught men to use their minds investigating the profoundest problems of life."<sup>2</sup>

We have a further illustration of St. Paul's intellectual temper in the high regard for truth which all his writings reveal. First among the things whereon he would have men to think stand "Whatsoever things are true."<sup>3</sup> First in the soul's equipment for its heavenly warfare comes the girdle of truth.<sup>4</sup> "Prove all things," he writes in another place, "hold fast that which is good." The

<sup>1</sup> *The Christian Ethic*, pp. 9-10.

<sup>2</sup> *The Preacher and his Models*, p. 244. "If," says the same writer elsewhere, "the orations of Demosthenes, with their closely packed arguments, between whose articulations even a knife cannot be thrust, be a monument of the intellectual greatness of the Greece which listened to them with pleasure; if the plays of Shakespeare, with their deep views of life and their obscure and complex language, be a testimony to the strength of mind of the Elizabethan Age, which could enjoy such solid fare in a place of entertainment; then the Epistle to the Ephesians, which sounds the lowest depths of Christian doctrine and scales the loftiest heights of Christian experience, is a testimony to the proficiency which Paul's converts had attained under his preaching at Ephesus." (*Life of St. Paul*, p. 88.)

<sup>3</sup> Phil. iv. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Eph. vi. 14.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Thess. v. 21. Dr. Denney, contrary to most authorities, adopts the inviting suggestion that a metaphor from coinage underlies these and the following words, and paraphrases thus: "Show yourselves skilful money-changers; do not accept in blind trust all the spiritual currency which you find in circulation; put it all to the test; rub it on the touch-stone; keep hold of what is genuine and of sterling value, but

work of the perfecting of the saints can never be complete until men are no longer children, "tossed to and fro and carried about with every wind of doctrine," but have become "followers of the truth in love."<sup>1</sup> Still more suggestive is the Apostle's frequent reference to the gospel as "the truth," or simply (omitting the article), as "truth."<sup>2</sup> Thus, e.g., in Ephesians i. 13, we find "the word of the truth" placed in direct apposition with "the gospel of your salvation." So too in Galatians ii. 5, 14, and Colossians i. 5, we have "the truth of the gospel," by which is plainly meant not simply the truthfulness of the gospel but the truth which is set forth in the gospel.<sup>3</sup> Christianity, in a word, had come to St. Paul as a message of truth. "Our exhortation," he protested to the Thessalonians, "is not of error, nor of uncleanness, nor in guile."<sup>4</sup> He is as confident that his doctrines are true as he is that his motives are pure.

The importance which St. Paul attached to the gospel as truth is still further seen in the earnestness of his desire for the preservation of its purity and for its full intellectual apprehension on the part of his converts. For himself he can claim that, neither corrupting the word of God nor handling it deceitfully, he commends himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.<sup>5</sup>

every spurious coin decline." (*Epistle to the Thessalonians*, Expositor's Bible, p. 245.)

<sup>1</sup> Eph. iv. 15. ἀληθεύοντες, as a glance at the commentaries will show, is a very difficult word to translate. It certainly means more than "speaking truth." The above rendering is Alford's. (See also Moule's *Ephesian Studies*, p. 194.)

<sup>2</sup> The result of the omission of the article is of course to lay special stress on the character of the apostolic message as truth.

<sup>3</sup> For many other kindred passages see Prof. Stanton's art., "Truth," in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iv. p. 818.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Thess. ii. 8.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Cor. ii. 17 (R.V. marg., "making merchandise of the word of God"); iv. 2. Cp. Knox's last will and testament: "To the Faithful—before God, before His Son Jesus Christ, and before His holy angels—I protest that God, by my mouth, be I never so abject, has shown you His truth

In like manner he urges upon Titus in his doctrine to show "uncorruptness," and upon Timothy to prove himself "a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, handling aright the word of truth."<sup>1</sup> And if he is anxious for the maintenance of the truth of the gospel by those who preach it, not less so is he for its full and intelligent reception by those who hear it. "Brethren," he writes to the Corinthians, "be not children in mind; howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be men."<sup>2</sup> It is surely a significant fact that each of the Epistles of the Captivity (with the exception of the short letter to Philemon) contains a prayer for its readers that they may be led into a fuller understanding of the truth of the gospel which they had received: "I cease not to give thanks for you, making mention of you in my prayers; that the God of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of glory, may give unto you the spirit of wisdom and revelation in the knowledge of Him; having the eyes of your heart enlightened"; "This I pray, that your love may abound yet more and more in knowledge and all discernment; so that ye may approve the things that are excellent"; "We cease not to pray and make request for you, that ye may be filled with the knowledge of His will in all spiritual wisdom and understanding . . . increasing in the knowledge of God."<sup>3</sup> If it be said that in all this St. Paul is thinking of much

in all simplicity. None have I corrupted. None have I defrauded. Merchandise have I not made—to God's glory I write—of the glorious Evangel of Jesus Christ; but, according to the measure of the grace granted unto me, I have divided the Word of Truth in just parts."

<sup>1</sup> Titus ii. 7; 2 Tim. ii. 15. Many authorities would add 1 Tim. vi. 20, and 2 Tim. i. 14; but I do not feel sure that doctrine is the "deposit" there referred to. No interpretation of *παράθεκη* can be regarded as satisfactory which is not applicable to 2 Tim. i. 12 as well as to the two passages named, and there the idea of a body of doctrine seems wholly out of place. (See R. F. Horton's *Pastoral Epistles*, Century Bible, p. 139.)

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xiv. 20.

<sup>3</sup> Eph. i. 16-18; Phil. i. 9-10; Col. i. 9, 11.



more than the intellectual apprehension of truth, that indeed the intellect alone can never fully apprehend spiritual truth, the answer is that this is true, but it is nothing to the point. Of itself the mind can do nothing in religion; it is none the less true that while the mind remains unawakened the Apostle's prayer must remain unanswered. The appeal of the gospel is to the whole man; and St. Paul was so great as a Christian because in him it found so complete a response.<sup>1</sup>

## II.

When from the New Testament we turn to the subsequent history of the Church we are conscious at once of a rapid and mournful descent. The intellectual virtues seem to suffer immediate and disastrous eclipse. Forgeries and pious frauds meet us at every step. Men—Christian men—are very careful of what they call "the truth," very careless of truth. Through long centuries it seems (as a well-known writer says<sup>2</sup>) as if there were no such thing

<sup>1</sup> Two or three other passages in St. Paul's Epistles strictly relevant to our subject, but not referred to in the foregoing brief discussion, may be brought together in a note. Now that English readers have the Revised Version in their hands we may perhaps hope that even obscurantism will at last cease to talk about "oppositions of science falsely so called," under the impression that it is quoting Scripture (1 Tim. vi. 20). That there are "imaginings" (or "reasonings") to which the gospel must oppose itself and seek to overthrow is inevitable (2 Cor. x. 5), but to instance this, or indeed any other word of St. Paul, as censuring the free exercise of intelligence in religion, is, as Dr. Denney says, too absurd. Rom. xii. 2, Eph. iv. 23, remind us that the mind, through its renewing, is to share in the redemptive work of Christ; and in 1 Cor. iii. 22 ("all things are yours: whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, etc.") we have a striking illustration of that noble liberality of mind which is so marked a feature of the Apostle's whole career: "Paul would say, ye do yourselves a wrong by listening to one form of the truth only; every teacher who declares what he himself lives on has something to teach you; to despise or neglect any form of Christian teaching is so far to impoverish yourselves. "All things are yours," not this teacher or that, in whom you glory, but all teachers of Christ." (*The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, Expositor's Bible, by Marcus Dods, p. 95.)

<sup>2</sup> "J.B." of the *Christian World*.

as an ethic of the intellect at all, as if mental morality had ceased to be. The picture is not, indeed, quite so unrelieved in its blackness as Mr. Lecky would lead us to suppose. The faults upon which he comments with such severity are not peculiar to early Christianity; they are the faults of the general intellectual character of the time. Moreover, as Mr. Lecky himself has pointed out, both Jews and Christians, by their refusal to act a lie in religious matters and to sanction, either by their presence or their example, what in their hearts they regarded as baseless superstitions, stand forward as representatives of a moral principle which was wholly unknown even among the most truth-loving philosophers of the Pagan world.<sup>1</sup> To whom is it, as Dean Church pertinently asks, that the world owes the word "martyr"? Nevertheless, when all necessary qualifications and explanations have been made, this chapter remains one of the worst in the long and often blotted record of the Church's past. To one group only of the ugly and undeniable facts brief reference may be made.

"We beseech you," St. Paul wrote in one of his earliest letters, "that ye be not quickly shaken from your mind, nor yet be troubled, either by spirit, or by word, or by *epistle as from us*, as that the day of the Lord is now present"<sup>2</sup>—so early did falsehood take upon itself to do the Lord's work. And the trail of the forger is over all these early centuries. "The immense number of forged documents," says Mr. Lecky, "is one of the most disgraceful features of the Church history of the first few centuries."<sup>3</sup> Here are a few illustrations culled almost at random. "Christian gratitude and reverence," says Milman, "soon began to be discontented with the silence of the authentic writings as to the fate of the twelve chosen

<sup>1</sup> *History of European Morals*, vol. i. p. 404.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Thess. ii. 2.

*History of European Morals*, vol. i. p. 841 (footnote), see also p. 876.

companions of Christ. It began first with some modest respect for truth, but soon with bold defiance of probability to brighten their obscure course, till each might be traced by the blaze of miracle into remote regions of the world, where it is clear that, if they had penetrated, no record of their existence was likely to survive."<sup>1</sup> On the ground of a supposed correspondence with St. Paul, the philosopher Seneca was for several centuries regarded as a Christian disciple; now by all but universal consent the letters are rejected as a forgery.<sup>2</sup> The *Acts of Paul and Thekla* was the composition of a 'presbyter who, when he was convicted, confessed, Tertullian tells us, that he had done it "out of love to Paul."<sup>3</sup> A letter which the Emperor Marcus Aurelius was reputed to have written to the Roman Senate, acknowledging how effective had been the aid he had received from Christian prayers, and forbidding anyone hereafter to molest the followers of the new religion, is declared both by Mr. George Long and Dean Farrar to be a stupid and impudent forgery.<sup>4</sup> "The Ignatian Epistles, even if some be in substance genuine, were undoubtedly all interpolated and some fabricated in the interests of the episcopal government of the Church." But perhaps the most amazing of these pious frauds are the so-called "Sibylline Oracles" in which predictions of the Messiah and His sufferings, and of the overthrow of the Roman power, are put into the lips of the ancient heathen, in order, as Milman says, to enlist these authorized interpreters of futurity on the side of the Church, and to compel Paganism in its most hallowed language and by

<sup>1</sup> *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See the first of these papers, *Expositor*, January 1905, p. 40 (foot-note).

<sup>3</sup> See two admirable papers on "The Moral Character of Pseudonymous Books" by the late Professor Candlish, *Expositor*, 4th series, vol. 4.

<sup>4</sup> Long's edition of the *Thoughts of Marcus Aurelius*, p. 19; Farrar's *Seekers after God*, p. 108.

the mouth of its most inspired prophets to confess its own approaching dissolution.<sup>1</sup>

The condemnation and punishment of the presbyter referred to above shows that the Church was not wholly without a better mind on this subject ;<sup>2</sup> and, of course, not all who sought to serve the cause of truth with the instruments of iniquity were themselves to blame. It was a credulous age ; literary criticism was barely in its infancy ; and it is perhaps small wonder that in the fervour of their new faith Christian men often fell an easy prey to clever and unscrupulous partisans. But however leniently we judge the deceived, it is impossible to acquit their deceivers. If it be urged that they did what they did from no selfish or worldly motive, but honestly believing that deception in a good cause is both lawful and expedient, we can only reply that offence and apology alike only show to what depths even good men may descend once they have set their foot on falsehood's steep and slippery slope. Bitter taunts like that of a famous German historian, who classes "Christian veracity" with "Punic faith" owe all their sting to the ignoble manipulations of these traffickers in deceit for the kingdom of heaven's sake. To-day we owe it to ourselves, to the world, and to our Lord, to make it plain that henceforth we will purge ourselves of all complicity with "this age-long and deadly infraction of the ethic of the intellect."

### III.

If from the past we turn to the present, and inquire whether in the life of the Church to-day the great Pauline traditions are being maintained, the answer must be both "Yes" and "No." We have moved far from the day when leaders of religion could condone and make use of

<sup>1</sup> *History of Christianity*, vol. ii. p. 120. See also Lecky, vol. i. p. 376.

<sup>2</sup> Lecky, however, says that this is the only instance of the kind known to him. (Vol. i., p. 376, footnote.)

literary falsehoods in the interests of the Church. So great, indeed, has been the change that we are perhaps sometimes in danger of judging with undue severity the lapses of an age whose moral standards were not and could not be our own. But even yet the place of the intellect in religion is but very imperfectly apprehended by many Christian people. By some it is regarded as an alien power whose every movement faith must watch with a jealous eye; by others, as a servant for whom in the sphere of religion no service can be found. It is, perhaps, our lack of intellectual interest in the contents of the Christian revelation which, in the matter of the intellectual virtues, divides us to-day most decisively from St. Paul. The dearth among us of really great theologians, the popular but unspeakably foolish depreciation of theology, the deep gulf that so often separates the Christian evangelist from the Christian scholar, the sheer intellectual laziness (no milder term can adequately describe the facts) of many Christian congregations, all bear witness, each in its own way, to our feeble recognition of the duties of the intellect in the service of God.

How fraught with peril to all the best interests of the Church of Christ such a condition is, a moment's thought will be sufficient to show.<sup>1</sup> We, like the Apostle himself, are debtors "both to Greeks and Barbarians, both to the

<sup>1</sup> "I believe that in all the great movements of religious reform that have permanently elevated the religious life of Christendom there has been a renewal of intellectual interest in the Christian revelation. . . . If at the present time the religious life of the Church is languid, and if in its enterprises there is little of audacity and of vehemence, a partial explanation is to be found in that decline of intellectual interest in the contents of the Christian Faith which has characterized the last hundred or hundred and fifty years of our history. . . . The intellect has its rights as well as the conscience and the heart, and if religious truth does not meet the just demands of the intellect as well as of the moral nature, it will be regarded with languid interest, and will at last be either silently abandoned or rejected with open hostility and scorn." (*Lectures on the Ephesians*, by R. W. Dale, pp. 236-8.)

wise and to the foolish." It is always at the risk of failing in our whole duty that we neglect either half of it. That the Church is debtor to the poor, the illiterate and the unprivileged, needs not to be said; not less is it debtor to them that know. It has to make its faith reasonable to reasonable minds. Every day men drift silently and sorrowfully into unbelief simply because they have failed to find the reconciling point between the faith of childhood and the larger knowledge which the years have brought. Their general intellectual outlook has gone on slowly widening, while their religious outlook has remained unchanged; then when the shock of discovery comes scepticism seems the only refuge. Now always to such—and their number grows daily—the Church has a duty as difficult as it is imperative. Unhappily, in our clumsiness we sometimes do nothing but create further difficulties. What only skill and tact and patience almost infinite ought even to attempt, we vainly think to accomplish by an earnest but unintelligent evangelism which thrusts its harsh alternatives, like an unthinking ramrod, among the most exquisite sensibilities of an anguished soul. Earnest evangelism we do assuredly need, but it is useless to hide from ourselves the fact that not a little present-day evangelism, on both sides of the Atlantic, by its shrill dogmatism and obsolete theology, is preparing the gravest embarrassments for the Church of to-morrow.<sup>1</sup> When will Christian teachers learn that in order to edify the souls of the simple it is never necessary to affront the intelligence of the wise? What is needed is that our thinkers and theologians should become our evangelists; or, if this seem a counsel of perfection, then that our evangelists should themselves become thinkers and theo-

<sup>1</sup> The writer may be pardoned for saying that he speaks as one who for many years has been seeking to do the work of an evangelist in connexion with a large city mission.

logians. For certain it is—so, at least, it seems to the present writer—that the only evangelism by which England can be won and held for Christ is the evangelism in which zeal and culture, religion and theology, the heart and the intellect, are yoked in one common service, the evangelism of Chalmers and Wesley and Luther and St. Paul.

Another illustration of the perils which arise from our inadequate intellectual apprehension of the truth of the gospel is seen in those panics of fear which still sometimes seize the Christian public when some new doctrine is first propounded by students of science or religion. It is easy from our loftier vantage ground to-day to lament the ignorant clamour with which in the past good men have assailed the findings of Christian scholarship; the pity of it is we are so quick to repeat their blunders. It may well be that Christian scholars are not always as mindful as they should be of the susceptibilities of their fellow-Christians; but can any indiscretion on their part excuse the blind alarm with which, e.g., the modern critical inquiry concerning the composition of our Scriptures is greeted in many quarters to-day? It may not be our duty to have a definite opinion on the questions at issue; it is our duty to keep a cool head and avoid all hysterics. After all, the questions which scholarship raises scholarship must decide. When wise men err, wiser men—not simply better men—must put them right. As for us whose are neither the duties nor the responsibilities of the scholar, we must have faith in God, and go on with our work. We must cultivate the scientist's fearlessness of facts. For, indeed, the facts—the facts, I say, not every speculation regarding them—are God's facts; it is He and not we who are responsible for them; and in the end it cannot hurt but must help us to know them, whatever they be. Here also the one thing needful, the one thing which belongs unto our peace, is that the roots of our minds strike deep down and

clasp themselves about the great verities of our faith ; then whatever tempests be abroad they will harm us no more than the noise of the wind in their branches harms the strong oaks of the forest. Wherefore, "be not children in mind ; but in mind be men."

GEORGE JACKSON.

## JERUSALEM FROM REHOBOAM TO HEZEKIAH.

(Concluded.)

### 6. AMAZIAH, circa 797-789 or 779.

THE history, confined in the last reign to Jerusalem, spreads in this upon wider arenas, but only to return to the capital with disastrous effects.

The murdered king was succeeded by his son, Amaziah : proof that the assassins had been provoked not by hatred to the dynasty, but by what they regarded as their victim's own fault, whether in the surrender to Hazael or in the murder of Zechariah. Amaziah, indeed, appears to have owed his elevation to the assassins, for we read that *as soon as* (which means *not until*) *the kingdom was firmly in his grasp he slew them*. It is noteworthy not only that a usurping faction should thus find the house of David indispensable to the kingdom, but that this house should be able so bravely to show its independence of every faction and its ability to punish even more or less justifiable assaults upon its representatives. This endurance of dynastic authority is not the only relief to the depressing tales of intrigue, tumult and bloodshed, in which the history of Jerusalem at this period so largely consists. For the execution of the murderers of Joash was signalized by an innovation, which betrays the existence of impulses—to whatever source they may be assigned—surely making for a higher morality. The editor records that Amaziah did not also slay the



children of the murderers, and recognizes in this his obedience to the Deuteronomic law : *the fathers shall not be put to death for the children nor the children for the fathers, every man shall be put to death for his own sin.*<sup>1</sup> The fact that such a law was required is of itself proof that early Israel had shared the widespread feeling of the time, that in the guilt of an individual the members of his family were involved. It is true, we are not quite clear whether this feeling was universal in antiquity. In the Code of Hammurabi there is no trace of the extension of the capital penalty from a criminal to his children ; but these could be sold into slavery for their father's debts.<sup>2</sup> Early society regarded the family as the moral unit. In the absence of a law or strong public opinion to the contrary the passion of private revenge, to which ancient jurisprudence largely left the punishment for murder, would not hesitate to work itself out upon the family of the criminal, as it does to-day among the Bedouin. And it is easy to see how even public justice could go to that extreme under the prevailing idea of the moral solidarity of the family. In Israel there were already current during our period traditions of how the children of criminals had, at certain crises, been put to death for their father's crimes by the supreme authority ;<sup>3</sup> and in the Book of the Covenant, the only code of the period, there was no law to the contrary. Deuteronomy is the earliest code which contains such a law. We may be sure, too, that the editor of the Book of Kings did not invent the story of Amaziah's sparing of the murderers' children. He must have found it in the sources from which he drew his materials ; and he hails it, as he does every other approximation to the Deuteronomic standards. But if the annals of Judah mentioned the fact, this can only have been because it was recognized as something unusual.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 5 f. ; Deut. xxiv. 16.

<sup>2</sup> § 117.

<sup>3</sup> Josh. vii. 24 ff. ; 2 Sam. xxi. 1 ff.

We may, therefore, add this leniency on the part of Amaziah to the symptoms, not a few, which the troubled period reveals of the presence of influences gradually elevating the social ethics of Judah. The particular innovation was not, as we have seen, inspired by the Book of the Covenant. Whence, then, did it spring? From the king's own resolution, or from his religious advisers, or from such a general discontent with the cruelty of the ancient custom as would probably arise in the generally improved ethics of the community? We cannot tell. Only of this may we be reasonably sure, that it was thus gradually, and even sporadically, that many ameliorations of ancient custom arose in Israel, which were finally articulated and enforced in such definite codes as form our Book of Deuteronomy. The Spirit of the God of Israel, nowhere more manifest than in Jerusalem, working on individuals or on the general conscience of the community, modified or annulled, one by one, the harsher and baser elements of that consuetudinary law, which Israel had inherited as a member of the Semitic race. A code like the Book of Deuteronomy was not brought forth at a stroke, but was the expression of the gradual results of the age-long working of the Spirit of the Living God in the hearts of His people.

The vigour and originality which this episode evinces were next illustrated by Amaziah in defeating the Edomites. The scene was the *Ravine of Salt*, probably the present Wady el-Milh, in the south of Judah.<sup>1</sup> The Sela', or Rock, which Amaziah took and called Jokthéel, can hardly have been the later Nabatean capital, Petra; which, as Buhl has shown, is probably not mentioned in the Old Testament.<sup>2</sup> It was surely no chief town of Edom that Amaziah

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 7. The expression 'ל or 'ל does not suit the wide valley of the 'Arabah, which Benzinger takes as the scene of the battle. Benzinger also takes the Sela' as Petra.

<sup>2</sup> *Gesch. der Edomiter*, 85 ff.

took, or else the subjection of the people to Judah would have been mentioned ; but some citadel which guarded the road from Judah to the Red Sea. Amaziah had sought to open this road, and his success is proved by the fact that its goal, Elath, was held and fortified by his successor.<sup>1</sup>

Elated by this victory, Amaziah sent a wanton challenge to Joash of Israel. Their armies met at Beth-Shemesh. If this was the Beth-Shemesh at the mouth of one of the passes from the Philistine country towards Jerusalem, Israel's choice of such a point of attack on Judah may be explained either by an alliance between them and the Philistines or by such tactics as led many of the Seleucid generals to approach Jerusalem from the Shephelah rather than upon a more direct road from the north. But there may have been another place of the same name on the northern frontier of Judah. In any case, after defeating Amaziah, Joash did deliver his attack on Jerusalem from the north—the first of many recorded assaults on that side of the city where alone the fortifications are not surrounded by deep ravines—and *brake down four hundred cubits of the wall from the gate of Ephraim to the corner-gate*, probably at the north-western corner of the city, and despoiled the Temple and the Palace.<sup>2</sup>

It was probably in consequence of this defeat that the people of Jerusalem conspired against Amaziah.<sup>3</sup> He fled to Lakish, but they sent after him and slew him, and brought back his body on horses. Once again the dynasty of David survived the fall of its chief. Whatever the plans of the Jerusalem conspirators had been, *all the people of Judah took Azariah and made him king in room of his father Amaziah*. It is, perhaps, unnecessary to see in these events another instance of the opposition we perceived in Athaliah's

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 22.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 8-14, from an Israelite document.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Kings xiv. 19 ff., probably from the Judæan annals.

time between the citizens of the capital and the country population. But we may take the opportunity to recall all the different interests and parties which we have found moving in the history of Judah at this time. These are the dynasty, the priesthood, the princes of Judah, the populace of Jerusalem, the people of the land, and, for a time, the foreign, heathen elements.

#### 7. UZZIAH OR AZARIAH, 789 OR 779-740.

With the moral and political factors in her life which have been noted in this and previous articles, Jerusalem entered the long and prosperous reign of Uzziah.

The editor of the Books of Kings records from his sources but two events in this reign, the restoration of the Red Sea port of Elath to Judah, to which we have already referred, and the king's leprosy. When this stroke befell Uzziah *he lived in his own house relieved of the duties of governing, and Jotham the king's son judged the people of the land.*<sup>1</sup> At what date this happened we are not told. It has been supposed that the variant numbers assigned to Jotham's reign in 2 Kings xv. 30 and 33 refer the—*sixteen* years to Jotham's regency during his father's life, and the *twenty* to that *plus* the years of his reign after his father's death. In this case Uzziah resigned the government about 755, for Jotham died in 735. But it is equally probable that Uzziah did not resign till 750.

On the other hand, the Chronicler's account of the reign

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xv. 5. The Hebrew text has בְּבֵית הַחֲפְשִׁית, which some of the Versions (ancient and modern) render *a separate house*, others *a house of freedom* (i.e. instead of being shut up with other lepers). Klostermann emends חֲפְשִׁיתָהּ בְּבֵיתָהּ, *in his own house, free or unmolested*. But if we accept this reading, it is most natural, both because of the clause which follows (*and Jotham the king's son was over the palace, judging the people of the land*) and because of other uses of חֲפֵשׁ, to take this as meaning *free from the duties of government*; cf. the use of חֲפֵשׁ in Mishnic Hebrew, *free* as a corpse is from the obligations of the law, or as Saul was by his death from the kingly office. See Levy, *N. H. und Chald. Wörterbuch*.

is very full.<sup>1</sup> Apart from his explanation of Uzziah's leprosy, which is obviously due to the influence of the Levitical system in his own time, and such details as the size of the Judæan army (and perhaps the engines ascribed to Uzziah), the account is evidently drawn from earlier sources, and is confirmed by what the prophets tell us of the state of Judah at the end of Uzziah's reign. According to the Chronicler, then, Uzziah made expeditions against the Philistines,<sup>2</sup> the Arabs in Gur or Gerar,<sup>3</sup> and the Me'onim—all of them tribes upon the avenues of Judah's commerce with the south.

In the southern desert the king built towers, the best means (also known to the Romans and the Turks) of keeping the nomads in subjection and the desert roads open.<sup>4</sup> *And he hewed many cisterns, for he had much cattle in the Shephelah and the Mishor or Plain*, most probably the level land at the foot of the Shephelah hills, *and vinedressers in the mountains and the garden-land, for he was a lover of husbandry*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 2 Chron. xxvi.

<sup>2</sup> Verse 6. As the building of cities by Uzziah in Philistine territory is questionable, it has been proposed to read *וַיִּבְנֶה עִיר בְּאַשְׁדּוֹד*, now *Jabneh is a city in Ashdod*; and to take *וַיִּבְנֶה עִיר* as a superfluous gloss.

<sup>3</sup> Verse 7. For *וְהַמְעוֹנִים* read *עַל-הַקְּעֻנִים*. Winckler (*Gesch.* i. 46) then proposes to take *גֵּר* as the same name as Gari in the Tell el Amarna Letters (Lond. 64, l. 28), which he takes as equivalent to Edom. *גֵּר*, however, may be a corruption of *גֵּרָר*, Gerar, which is read by the Targum: cf. 2 Chronicles xiv. 18. For *בְּנוֹר-בַּעַל* Kittel proposes *בְּטוֹר-בַּעַל*, which, however, is only partly justified by the LXX.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Doughty, *Arabia Deserta*, I. *passim*.

<sup>5</sup> Verse 10. This sentence seems compounded from more than one source, or at least to have had additions made to it, and is therefore as it stands ambiguous. If the Hebrew text be retained, its accents must be discarded, and *עֲבָרִים*, without a conjunction, taken with the preceding *and in the Shephelah and on the Plain*. But if with the LXX. we omit *עֲבָרִים*, as well as the conjunction before *בְּשִׂפְלָה*, then the verse will run as given above. The verse is interesting as giving the different kinds of land of which Judah was composed. The Mishor cannot be, as Ewald and Buhl assert (*Geog. des Allen Palästina*, p. 104), the Moabite Mishor or Plateau, for that lay outside Uzziah's domains, but either part of the Arabah south of the Dead Sea or the level land at the foot of the Shephelah hills. The last

In Jerusalem itself, according to the Chronicler, Uzziah made some simple additions to the walls. *He built towers in Jerusalem over the Gate of the Corner, that is on the extreme north-east, and over the Gate of the Ravine, on the south of the City, and upon the angles or turnings of the walls, and made them strong.*<sup>1</sup> This is a notice credible both in itself and from the great increase in building which distinguished the king's reign.<sup>2</sup> It represents a development of the fortifications of Jerusalem which is well within the ascertained achievements of the age in military engineering, and which was probably forced upon the defenders of Jerusalem by their experience of the ease with which the Israelite army had made a long breach in the northern wall. From as early as the fourth millennium<sup>3</sup> Babylonian engineers built the walls of fortresses with a regular sequence of right angles, out and in, with heavy towers over the gates and at the corners, so that the besieged could command with their bows the foot of the walls and prevent these from being breached by the besiegers.<sup>4</sup> The Syrian and other fortresses attacked by the Assyrians in the ninth and eighth centuries are represented, almost without exception, as polygonal.<sup>5</sup> Very frequently the walls are double or even treble, and in general they are furnished with battlements, casemates and loopholes. But the main feature is the tower projecting from the wall and manned by archers, who shoot over its

is most probable because of the conjunction of the Mishôr with the Shephelah. But if this be so, we have another reason (besides those given in my *Hist. Geog.*, p. 202) for confining the name Shephelah to the range of low hills west of the Judean range, and holding it to have been distinct from the maritime Plain; this as against Buhl, *loc. cit.*

<sup>1</sup> Verse 9. The Hebrew has the singular, but the LXX. gives the more probable plural.

<sup>2</sup> See below, the third paragraph from this.

<sup>3</sup> See the plan of a fortress engraved on the lap of the statue of Gudea.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Festungsbau im Alten Orient*, by A. Billerbeck in *Der Alte Orient* series, 1900, Heft 4, pp. 11, etc., with plans.

<sup>5</sup> *Idem*, p. 14.

breast-work at the advancing foe.<sup>1</sup> Of all this long-developed science Uzziah's engineers appear to have employed only the gate towers and the flanking towers at angles where the walls turned round the city or bent with the natural line of rock. Probably this was all that was required on the walls of Jerusalem, which for the most part were planted on the edge of deep ravines high above the reach of breaching engines. At least Uzziah's flanking towers fully served their purpose. Where before his reign the comparatively small forces of northern Israel had made a long breach on the northern wall, the only breachable part of the defences, after his reign the engines of Assyria herself failed to effect an entrance. On all these grounds we may accept the Chronicler's report of Uzziah's fortification of his capital. We shall find this developed by Uzziah's immediate successors.

It is different, however, with the armament which the Chronicler declares Uzziah to have placed upon the walls. *And he made in Jerusalem engines, the invention of an engineer, or ingenious man, to be on the towers and the angles to shoot arrows and great stones.*<sup>1</sup> Benzinger thinks that the redundant expressions "speak for the age of this notice; at the time of the Chronicler there were no more such marvels. It is true that nowhere else in the Old Testament are such engines mentioned. But since the Assyrians had them, they cannot have remained unknown to the Israelites." This reasoning is doubtful both in its premises and conclusion. Billerbeck states that "the ancient artillery," with its engines for shooting arrows and throwing stones, first appears in the fifth century before Christ.<sup>2</sup> I cannot find any such engines pictured on the Assyrian or Egyptian pictures of battles or sieges in the eighth or previous centuries, and it is strange that if

<sup>1</sup> So in nearly all Assyrian and Egyptian pictures of sieges.    <sup>2</sup> Verse 15.

<sup>3</sup> Op. cit. p. 5.

Uzziah had used them the prophets who describe other novel constructions of the time should fail to speak of them. The next earliest notice of shooting instruments in Jewish writings is 1 Maccabees vi. 51.<sup>1</sup>

The Chronicler also ascribes to Uzziah the organization and equipment of a huge army.<sup>2</sup> We may question the total number given, 307,500; but the number of heads of families who had to furnish the fighting men, 2,600, is not improbable, and the Chronicler cannot have invented the names of the officials charged with the levy. Uzziah re-armed his host.

Those records of Uzziah's activity, in which we have seen no inherent improbability, are confirmed by the evidence of the Prophets at the close of that monarch's reign. There is, as we should expect, a background of agriculture and pasture to the pictures of the national life presented by Amos and Isaiah.<sup>3</sup> But against that background rises, in a way novel in Israel's history, an extraordinary enterprise in building<sup>4</sup>—the instruments and material of which are used familiarly as religious figures,<sup>5</sup> and one of the names, *'armōn*, hitherto limited to royal castles, is applied to private dwellings—with an increase of all manner of wealth and luxury.<sup>6</sup> But these imply a great development of trade; and of this and of the tempers it breeds the Prophets give us direct evidence. Amos describes an excessive zeal in buying and selling. Hosea calls northern Israel a very *Canaanite*, or trader.<sup>7</sup> Isaiah says *Judah is filled from the East, she strikes hands with*

<sup>1</sup> The פָּת of 2 Kings xxv. 1 and Ezek. iv. 2, etc., are towers manned by archers and pushed forward on wheels or rollers.

<sup>2</sup> Verses 11–14.

<sup>3</sup> Amos ii. 13, iii. 12, iv. 9, v. 11, 16 f., vi. 12, vii. 1 ff., viii. 6. Cf. Isaiah i. 8, 8, iii. 14, v. 1–10, 17, vii. 23, ix. 8, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Amos iii. 15, v. 11, etc. Hos. viii. 14. Isaiah ii. 15, ix. 10 (9).

<sup>5</sup> Amos vii. 7 ff.; cf. Isaiah xxviii. 16, xxx. 13.

<sup>6</sup> Amos iv. 4 f., etc.; Hos. xii. 8; Isaiah ii. 7, etc.

<sup>7</sup> xii. 7; cf. vii. 8, viii. 10.



*the sons of strangers*,<sup>1</sup> and mentions ships of Tarshish and caravans.<sup>2</sup> The sins of trade: the covetousness which oppressed the poor, and threatened the old religious festivals, false weights, and lying are exposed and condemned.<sup>3</sup> Whether Uzziah throughout his long reign remained under that subjection to northern Israel which was confirmed by Amaziah's defeat at Beth-shemesh, or gradually advanced to more equal relations with Jeroboam II., it is difficult to say. In either case the two kingdoms were at peace, and between them commanded the trade from Elath to the borders of Phœnicia and Damascus. So great a commerce was in the hands mainly of foreigners—Arabs according to Isaiah,<sup>4</sup> and doubtless also Arameans.<sup>5</sup> These must have brought into Judah many foreign products and inventions; a familiarity also with life and institutions both in Assyria and Egypt. The Assyrian armies had been as far south as Damascus and were still moving in northern Syria. Isaiah describes the aspect of their ranks; and through the other prophets there beats the sense of their irresistibleness.

The effect of all this on Jerusalem may be easily conceived. The City must have regained the measure of prosperity which she enjoyed under Solomon, and despite her political separation from northern Israel may even have risen beyond that. As through the rest of her history before the Exile we are without any data for estimating the number of her population, and with very few for determining the space covered by her buildings. The passages quoted above from Isaiah imply a large increase of the foreign elements in her population. Many at least of these alien traders would be accommodated outside the walls: most probably in a suburb along the northern

<sup>1</sup> ii. 6.<sup>2</sup> ii. 16, xxx. 6.<sup>3</sup> Amos ii. 6, iv. 1, viii. 4 ff. Hos. xii. 7. Isaiah iii. 15, v. 23, etc.<sup>4</sup> ii. 6. <sup>5</sup> *Encycl. Bibl.* "Trade and Commerce," § 51.

wall, which there is no reason to doubt still ran from the Corner Gate near the present Jaffa Gate eastwards to the north end of the Temple enclosure. Within the walls the inhabitants would be more crowded than before, the buildings more numerous, compact and lofty. Isaiah, as we shall see in our next study, prophesies in presence of the characteristic tempers of a large city life. In the national wealth the Temple must have shared; its revenues would be rapidly increasing. Thus, in every direction, the material political and moral forces with which Jerusalem entered the long reign of Uzziah were greatly developed before its close.

#### 8. JOTHAM, REGENT FROM 755 OR 750; KING 740-735.

The only addition to the buildings of Jerusalem ascribed to Jotham by the Books of Kings is *the upper gate of the Temple*,<sup>1</sup> probably the same as Jeremiah's *upper gate of Benjamin*, and Ezekiel's *northern gate*.<sup>2</sup> The Chronicler adds that Jotham *built much on the wall of the Ophel*.<sup>3</sup> The position of The Ophel is clearly determined by the data of Nehemiah and Josephus. It lay on the eastern hill south of the Temple and above Gihon. As we have seen, from an early time a wall ran up the eastern edge of the hill, and this wall Jotham now strengthened, probably in the same style as that of his father's additional fortifications.

The name Ophel raises an interesting question. It does not certainly occur in pre-exilic writings,<sup>4</sup> though there is

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xv. 35.

<sup>2</sup> Jer. xx. 2; Ezek. viii. 3, ix. 2.

<sup>3</sup> 2 Chron. xxvii. 3.

<sup>4</sup> Of the two occurrences in prophecy, Isa. xxxii. 14 and Micah iv. 8, the former is not found in the LXX., and is probably a later insertion, while the latter cannot confidently be assigned to Micah. Nehemiah, iii. 26 f. and xi. 21, gives the name as already familiar, and places it south of the Temple and above Gihon. The only other occurrences of the name in the Old Testament are the passage above and 2 Chron. xxxiii. 14. The

no reason against its having been in use at an earlier time. The interesting point, however, is that the name Ophel is not used in the Old Testament except by writers who do not employ the name Şion. We saw that both the Chronicler and Ezra-Nehemiah seem to have avoided the name Şion except in the two cases in which the Chronicler uses it of the old Jebusite citadel,<sup>1</sup> and now we find that it is in these writers alone that the name Ophel appears. The two names apply to practically the same site; nor are they dissimilar in meaning; for while The Ophel is "The Mound," or "Swelling," Şion (as we saw)<sup>2</sup> most probably meant "protuberance, shoulder or summit of a ridge." Naturally, therefore, the following questions arise: Were Şion and The Ophel contemporary and alternative names for the same site? Or, when the name Şion was removed (as we saw) from the ridge above Gihon, did the name, The Ophel, succeed it there? If the former, then we have an explanation of the appearance of The Ophel only in writings which avoid the use of Şion; if the latter, we understand the confinement of the name The Ophel to the later literature.

#### 9 AHAZ, 735 ?

The fortifications of Jerusalem strengthened by Uzziah and Jotham were speedily to be tested. The political calm in which Israel and Judah had lived for a number of years began to be disturbed soon after 745 by forces both from without and from within. In that year the Assyrian throne was ascended by a strong soldier who, under the title of Tiglath-Pileser III., revived a vigorous policy of

Ophlas of Josephus is evidently on the same position as the Ophel of Nehemiah: on the east wall just south of the Temple (v. *B.J.* iv. 2), near the Temple and the Kidron valley (*Id.* vi. 1; cf. ii. *B.J.* xvii. 9, and vi. *B.J.* vi. 8).

<sup>1</sup> See this vol. of the *Expositor*, pp. 7 f.

<sup>2</sup> *Id.* p. 8.

conquest, which, however, owing to the numerous directions on which it had to be prosecuted, could not be steadily sustained along any one of them. For the next fifteen years politics in Palestine swung upon the ebb and flow of Assyrian invasion. In Northern Israel this oscillation was aggravated after the close of Jeroboam's long reign by the overthrow of his dynasty and the succession of various short-lived usurpers. In 738 the second of these, Menahem, became, along with some of his neighbours, tributary to Tiglath-Pileser, then moving south on one of his Syrian campaigns. But for the next three years Tiglath-Pileser was occupied on the north of Assyria, and taking advantage of his absence short-sighted parties in all the Syrian states dared to form a new league against him. When Menahem died in 735, those in Israel who sympathized with this movement slew his son, and, raising their leader, Pekah, a Gileadite, to the throne, made alliance against Assyria with Rezin, or Raṣon, of Damascus. It seems to have been Jotham's refusal to join them which stirred the allies against him.<sup>1</sup> But Jotham died in 735, and it was his son Ahaz who had to face their invasion of Judah,<sup>2</sup> with its aim of displacing the king by a creature of their own.<sup>3</sup> Isaiah has himself described the panic which ensued in Jerusalem under this danger to the City and the Dynasty of David. *Now it was told to the house of David that Aram was pitched in Ephraim, and his heart and the heart of his people quivered as the trees of the jungle quiver before the wind.*<sup>4</sup> Probably it was under this alarm that the superstitious king *made his son to pass through the fire*<sup>5</sup>; which can only mean a sacrifice by burning in order to propitiate the divine powers in some extreme danger.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xv. 37.

<sup>2</sup> Id. xvi. 5.

<sup>3</sup> Isaiah vii. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Isaiah vii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 3; LXX. reads *sons*, so 2 Chron. xxviii. 8.

Isaiah nowhere alludes by word to this horror. But we may perhaps find the prophet's rebuke of so awful a sacrifice to despair in his taking with him to meet the king his own son, whom he also had dedicated, but to hope, by the symbolic name She'ar-jashub, *a remnant shall return*. They met at the end of the conduit of the Upper Pool on the highway by the Fuller's field. It is the same spot from which in 701 the Assyrian Rabshakeh addressed his challenge to the defenders of Jerusalem. It lay, therefore, outside the walls; note also the command to Isaiah *to go forth* to it. But beyond this we cannot tell certainly where it lay. On the one hand, it is reasonable to seek for the Fuller's field in the Kidron valley, where the only spring in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem is found. Here the Upper Pool might be identified with the inner of the two pools of Siloam<sup>1</sup> and, the conduit with the rock-cut channel leading directly to the Siloam gardens.<sup>2</sup> We would then have the explanation of the existence of *the end* of a conduit outside the City walls, for in this case the conduit was for the purpose of irrigating the gardens. Or we may take the Upper Pool to have been the basin into which Gihon (the Virgin Fountain) issues, and the conduit that which Dr. Masterman discovered along the edge of Ophel. But if the Upper Pool and its conduit were any part of the system of Shiloah, it is singular that this name is not given to them. Moreover, Sir Charles Wilson thinks that "the conduit of the Upper Pool must have been on the north of the City, because no general commanding an army would

<sup>1</sup> As I have done in a previous paper in this series, *Expositor*, March, 1908, pp. 222 f., Stade identifies the Upper Pool with the pool which Guthe believed he had discovered separate from the inner Siloam pool (Stade, *Gesch.* i. p. 592 n.), but Guthe's supposed pool is probably, as the more extended excavations of Bliss have shown, only a part of the inner Siloam pool.

<sup>2</sup> As Dr. Masterman writes me in correction of my statement, *Expositor*, March, 1908, p. 222, that this channel connects the inner pool with Birket el Hamra.

go down to the mouth of the Tyropœon valley to parley with the men on the wall, but would speak to them from some plateau on the north."<sup>1</sup> He has suggested that the Upper Pool may have been one which in the eleventh century existed under the name of "the Lake of Legerius," at the head of the Tyropœon valley, and that the conduit was one on the east hill by which water was led from the same locality to the Temple enclosure.<sup>2</sup> In any case the Upper Pool can hardly have been, as many have thought, the Birket Mamilla.

Ahaz, when Isaiah found him, was probably inspecting the water supplies in order to prevent their use by the expected invaders. Against these the fortifications of Uzziah and Jotham were found sufficient. Syria and Israel came up against Jerusalem, but were not able to breach or to storm it.<sup>3</sup> The invasion, however, meant losses to Judah in other directions. The Edomites recovered Elath from the Jews,<sup>4</sup> and the Philistines took several towns in the Shephelah.<sup>5</sup>

The waters of Shiloah or Shilloah<sup>6</sup> are mentioned by Isaiah in another address during the reign of Ahaz. As we saw in the study of the Waters of Jerusalem this name, which means sent or conducted, must refer to some part of the system of aqueducts by which the waters of Gihon were led to the mouth of the Tyropœon. If the famous tunnel which now carries them under Ophel to the Pool of Siloam was the work of the engineers of Hezekiah,

<sup>1</sup> In a letter.

<sup>2</sup> Address to the Victoria Institute, May 26, 1902, p. 8.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. vii. 1.

<sup>4</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 6, where with the LXX. read Edom for Aram.

<sup>5</sup> 2 Chron. xxviii. 18. The greater part of this chapter on Ahaz is obviously a very late Midrash on the history of Judah; but the section, verses 17-19, which is in a different style from, and disturbs the connection of, the rest, is, as Benzinger says, "at least not improbable."

<sup>6</sup> The spelling accepted by Baer from the Cod. Babyl. and the Complut. and other early editions.

Isaiah must intend some other part of the system : perhaps the ancient channel traced by Dr. Masterman along the eastern edge of Ophel. In any case Isaiah takes the gentle and fertilising streams of Shilloah as symbolic of the spiritual influences of Judah's God, from which the people as well as Ahaz were turning impatiently to seek their salvation through submission and tribute to Assyria. For such was the fateful step on which Ahaz was resolved, and it brings us into that new period of the City's history which is identified with Isaiah's name. Before we enter this there is one other act of Ahaz which we must include in our survey of that monarch's influence on Jerusalem.

To raise his first tribute to Assyria, Ahaz imitated certain of his predecessors and despoiled the Palace and Temple treasures.<sup>1</sup> Tiglath-Pileser replied by marching into Palestine in 734, and carrying off the inhabitants of Israel's northern frontier, and of Galilee and Gilead. The discredited Pekah was slain by a conspiracy of his own people, and the leader Hoshea ascended the throne as a vassal of Assyria. In 732 Tiglath-Pileser took Damascus, and thither Ahaz repaired to do him homage. Impressed by an altar which he saw in Damascus, he sent the pattern to Urijah, the priest at Jerusalem, had one like it constructed for the Temple, and himself sacrificed upon this when he returned. Some further changes which he ordered in the Temple and the ritual are not very intelligible to us, but the account of them brings out clearly the undiminished supremacy of the crown over the Temple and its methods of worship.<sup>2</sup> Previous tributes to foreign monarchs, taken from the Temple treasures, had been occasional, and once paid were done with. But in the Assyrian Ahaz met a more persistent master to whom tribute had to be sent annually. There was no time to replenish the emptied

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> On the whole passage, 2 Kings xv. 10-16, see the commentaries.

treasuries, and Ahaz had to strip of their metal some of the most ancient and sacred of the Temple furnishings.

We have now finished our long survey of the history of Jerusalem from Rehoboam to Hezekiah. We have seen restored to the City much of that prosperity which she had enjoyed under Solomon and lost under his successors ; we have seen her made more strong than she had ever been before. Throughout she has preserved her one dynasty. Her spiritual life, too, is more articulate, and better trained ; has developed a considerable literature ; and is more closely drawn round the Temple as its centre. But a novel and more pregnant danger than she has yet encountered exists for her in the alliance with Assyria into which Ahaz has just drawn her. It is with all this that Jerusalem now passes into the hands of the greatest statesman who ever swayed her. How he developed her spiritual forces, used her dynasty and her military strength, and averted the fate which threatened her, will form the subject of our next study.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

<sup>1</sup> 2 Kings xvi. 17 f. The text of this second verse is uncertain.



## LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

## II.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL (*continued*).

iii. 7. "When he was away from his beloved Hanover, everything remained there exactly as in the prince's presence. There were eight hundred horses in the stables, there was all the apparatus of chamberlains, court-marshals, and equerries; and court assemblies were held every Saturday, where all the nobility of Hanover assembled at what I can't but think a fine and touching ceremony. A large arm-chair was placed in the assembly-room, and on it the king's portrait. The nobility advanced, and made a bow to the arm-chair, and to the image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up; and spoke under their voices before the august picture, just as they would have done had the king Churfürst been present himself" (Thackeray's *The Four Georges*: "George the Second").

iii. 14 f. "Whom shall I honour, whom shall I refuse to honour? If a man have any precious thing in him at all, certainly the most precious of all the gifts he can offer is his approbation, his reverence to another man. This is his very soul, this fealty which he swears to another: his personality itself, with whatever it has of eternal and and divine, he bends here in reverence before another. Not lightly will a man give this,—if he is still a man. . . . Will a man's soul worship that, think you? Never; if you fashioned him of solid gold, big as Benlomond, no heart of a man would ever look on him except with sorrow and despair. To the flunky heart alone is he, was he, or can he at any time be, a thing to look upon with upturned eyes of 'transcendent admiration,' worship, or worthship so-called" (Carlyle, *Latterday Pamphlets*, "Hudson's Statue").

iii. 8-18. "Here were they who formerly resolved not to defile themselves with the king's meat, and now they as bravely resolved not to defile themselves with his gods. Note—a steadfast self-denying adherence to God, and duty in lesser instances will qualify and prepare us for the like in greater" (Matthew Henry).

iii. 18. *We will not.*

"The Reformer's chief business always is to destroy falsehood, to drag down the temple of imposture, where idols hold the place of the Almighty.

"The growth of Christianity at the beginning was precisely this. The early martyrs . . . died, it cannot be too clearly remembered, for a negation. The last confession before the praetor, the words on which their fate depended, were not, 'We do believe,' but 'We do not believe.' 'We will not to save our miserable lives take a lie between our lips, and say we think what we do not think'" (Froude).

"We meet in joy, though we part in sorrow;  
We part to-night, but we meet to-morrow.  
Be it flood or blood the path that's trod,  
All the same it leads home to God;  
Be it furnace-fire voluminous,  
One like God's son will walk with us. . . .

Yet one pang searching and sore,  
And then Heaven for evermore:  
Yet one moment, awful and dark,  
Then safely within the veil and the Ark;  
Yet one effort, by Christ His grace,  
Then Christ for ever, face to face."

(C. G. Rossetti, "Martyr's Song").

iii. 24 f. See Keble's lines on "The Nineteenth Sunday after Trinity."

iii. 24-25.

"Yea, and as thought of some departed friend  
By death or distance parted will descend,

Severing in crowded rooms ablaze with light,  
As by a magic screen, the seër from the sight. . . .

So may the ear

Hearing not hear,

Though drums do roll, and pipes and cymbals ring ;

So the bare conscience of the better thing

Unfelt, unseen, unimaged, all unknown,

May fix the entrancèd soul 'mid multitudes alone."

(Clough.)

"O Holy Lord, who with the Children Three,

Didst walk the piercing flame,

Help, in those trial-hours, which, save to Thee,

I dare not name ;

Nor let these quivering eyes and sickening heart

Crumble to dust beneath the tempter's dart."

(Newman.)

"That Babylon has fallen ; but there is another Babylon which still goes on, and always will go on, till Christ comes again to judgment. There is the overwhelming and over-awing spectacle of this world, with its pomps and glories. Its look is lofty, and it speaks great things, and its vast array is ever before us. We cannot get away from it. Go where we will it follows us. It is a vision before our minds if not a sight before our eyes ; it is the scene of Babylonian power and greatness still going on, though in another form, and accommodated to every age in succession. . . . Men reject everywhere the office of witnessing to Divine truth ; they throw it off as an obstacle, a shackle, and a burden, something that stands in their way, and prevents them from being friends with the world, and from getting on in the world. They know the truth, but will not witness to it. They know that the world is transitory, and they act as if it were eternal. . . . Yet we may venture to say, and with certainty, that never, on any occasion, by any one of the humblest servants of God, was this office of witness to the truth executed without a reward. Never in this mixed world did a Christian soul offer to God

the sacrifice of a practical confession of Him, by standing apart from the ways of the world—not accepting its voice, not yielding to its spells, or being over-awed by its show ; never did anyone face any measure of adversity or gloom, or isolation or deprivation, as the consequence and penalty of bearing witness to the truth and expressing that truth in action, but he had, like the three witnesses, in that adversity a companion ” (Mozley).

iv. 19 f.

“Then was I as a tree  
Whose boughs did bend with fruit: but in one night,  
A storm or robbery, call it what you will,  
Shook down my mellow hangings, nay, my leaves,  
And left me bare to weather.”

(Belisarius in *Cymbeline*.)

iv. 22-30. “Can we believe that He whose words were so terrible against the pride of Egypt and Babylon, against that haughty insolence in men, on which not Hebrew prophets only, but the heathen poets of Greece looked with such peculiar and profound alarm,—that He will not visit it on those who, in their measure, are responsible for its words and temper, when it takes possession of a Christian nation? Can we doubt what His judgment will one day be on the cynical parade of exclusive selfishness, the cynical worship of mere dexterity and adroitness, in the sophists and tyrants of the old heathen world; and can we doubt what He will think when Christians, disciples of the Lord of truth and righteousness, let themselves be dazzled in matters of right and wrong, by the cleverness of intellectual fence? . . . We have almost elevated pride to the rank of a national virtue; so far from seeing any harm in it, we extol it as a noble and admirable thing. You see it unconsciously revealed in the look and bearing which meet you constantly in society and in the streets. You see it in that tone of insolence which seems to come so naturally to many

of us in the expression of our disapproval and antipathy" (R. W. Church).

iv. 27. "We can figure the thought of Louis that day, when, all royally caparisoned for hunting, he met, at some sudden turning in the wood of Senart, a ragged peasant with a coffin: 'For whom?'—It was for a poor brother slave, whom Majesty had sometimes noticed slaving in those quarters. 'What did he die of?'—'Of hunger':—the king gave his steed the spur" (Carlyle).

iv. 30–37. "Sorrow, pain, and death are sweet to whosoever dares, instead of fighting with or flying from them, to draw near, to examine closely, to enquire humbly, into their nature and their function. He began to perceive that these three reputed enemies, hated and feared of all men, are, after all, the fashioners and teachers of humanity; to whom it is given to keep hearts pure, godly, and compassionate, to purge away the dross of pride, hardness, and arrogance, to break the iron bands of ambition, self-love, and vanity, to purify by endurance and by charity" (Lucas Malet: *Sir Richard Calmady*).—"The greatest obstacle to any improvement or change in John Bull's sentiments just now is the egregious vanity of the beast. He has been so plastered with flattery, that he has become an impervious mass of self-esteem. Nothing is so difficult as to alter the policy of individuals or nations who allow themselves to be persuaded that they are the 'envy of surrounding nations and the admiration of the world.' Time and adversity can alone operate in such cases" (Cobden, to John Bright, in 1851).

iv. (25) 37. "This Nebuchadnezzar curse, that sends men to grass like oxen, seems to follow but too closely on the excess or continuance of national power and peace. In the perplexities of nations, in their struggle for existence, in their infancy, their impotence, or even their disorganization, they have higher hopes and nobler passions. Out of

the suffering comes the serious mind ; out of the salvation, the grateful heart ; out of endurance, fortitude ; out of deliverance, faith " (Ruskin, *Modern Painters*).

" I found occasion at this time to conclude, that the *Unio* of our river fords secretes pearls so much more frequently than the *Unionidæ* and *Anadonta* of our still pools and lakes, not from any specific peculiarity in the constitution of the creature, but from the effects of the habitat which it is its nature to choose. It receives in the fords and shallows of a rapid river many a rough blow from sticks and pebbles carried down in times of flood, and occasionally from the feet of men and animals that cross the stream during droughts ; and the blows induce the morbid secretions of which pearls are the result. There seems to exist no inherent cause why *Anadon cygnea*, with its beautiful silvery nacre—as bright often, and always more delicate than that of *Unio margaritiferus*—should not be equally productive of pearls ; but, secure from violence in its still pools and lakes, it does not produce a single pearl for a hundred that are ripened into value and beauty by the exposed current-tossed *Unionidæ* of our rapid mountain rivers. Would that hardship and suffering bore always in a creature of a greatly higher family similar results, and that the hard buffets dealt him by fortune in the rough stream of life could be transmuted, by some blessed internal predisposition of his nature, into pearls of great price " (Hugh Miller, *My Schools and Schoolmasters*).

v. 1. "*Pomp*, in our apprehension, was an idea of two categories ; the pompous might be spurious, but it might also be genuine. It is well to love the simple—we love it ; nor is there any opposition at all between *that* and the very glory of pomp. But, as we once put the case to Lamb, if, as a musician, as the leader of a mighty orchestra, you had this theme offered to you—'Belshazzar the king gave a great feast to a thousand of his lords'—. . . surely no

man would deny that, in such a case, simplicity, though in a passive sense not lawfully absent, must stand aside as totally insufficient for the positive part. Simplicity might guide, even here, but could not furnish the power ; a rudder it might be, but not an oar or a sail " (De Quincey, on *Charles Lamb*).

See Byron's *Hebrew Melodies* ("The Vision of Belshazzar").

v. 2 f. "If men love the pleasure of eating, if they allow themselves to love this pleasure, if they find it good, there is no limit to the augmentation of the pleasure, no limit beyond which it may not grow. The satisfaction of a *need* has limits, but pleasure has none. . . . And, strange to say, men who daily overeat themselves at such dinners—in comparison with which the feast of Belshazzar, that evoked the prophetic warning, was as nothing—are naïvely persuaded that they may yet be leading a moral life" (Tolstoy).

v. 27. In the *Spectator* (No. 463) Addison describes a dream of a pair of golden scales which showed the exact value of everything that is in esteem among men. Among the experiments which he made with this balance was the following: "Having an opportunity of this nature in my Hands, I could not forbear throwing into one scale the Principles of a Tory, and into the other those of a Whig; but as I have all along declared this to be a Neutral Paper, I shall likewise desire to be silent under this Head, also, though upon examining one of the weights, I saw the word *TEKEL* engraved on it in Capital Letters."—In his *Bible in Spain* Borrow describes his feelings when he boldly opened a shop in Madrid for the sale of Testaments. "'How strangely times alter,' said I, the second day subsequent to the opening of my establishment, as I stood on the opposite side of the street, surveying my shop, on the windows of which were painted in large yellow characters, *Despacho*

*de la Sociedad Biblica y Estrangera*; 'how strangely times alter . . . Pope of Rome! Pope of Rome! look to thyself. That shop may be closed; but oh! what a sign of the times, that it has been permitted to exist for one day. It appears to me, my Father, that the days of your sway are numbered in Spain; that you will not be permitted much longer to plunder her, to scoff at her, and to scourge her with scorpions, as in bygone periods. See I not the hand on the wall? See I not in yonder letters a *Mene, Mene, Tekel, Upharsin*? Look to thyself, Batushca.'"

v. 30 (cf. 28).

"Canst thou discern

The signs of seasons, yet perceive no hint  
Of change in that stage-scene in which thou art  
Not a spectator, but an actor? or  
Art thou a puppet moved by enginery?  
The day that dawns in fire will die in storms,  
Even though the noon be calm."

(Shelley.)

v. 30-31. "Kings and Emperors have long ago arranged for themselves a system like that of a magazine-rifle: as soon as one bullet has been discharged, another takes its place. *Le roi est mort, vive le roi!* So what is the use of killing them?" (Tolstoy).

vi. 3-4. "Whatever the world thinks, he who hath not much meditated upon God, the human soul, and the *summum bonum*, may possibly make a thriving earthworm, but will most indubitably make a sorry patriot and a sorry statesman" (Berkeley).

vii. 1 f. "I am amusing myself with thinking of the prophecy of Daniel as a sort of allegory. All those monstrous, 'rombustical' beasts with their horns—the horn with eyes and a mouth speaking proud things, and the little horn that waxed rebellious and stamped on the stars, seem like my passions and vain fancies, which are to be knocked down one after another—until all is subdued with a



universal kingdom over which the Ancient of Days presides—the spirit of Love—the catholicism of the universe—if you can attach any meaning to such a phrase” (George Eliot to Sara Hennell).

vii. 12 f. “By resigning his strength, by declining to appeal to force, by committing himself into God’s hand, Jesus took the direct path to supreme power and universal dominion. Such is the honour which he felt to be owing to the kingdom of the Truth, to leave it to win its own way against the suffrages of all men. ‘He must reign. . . .’ Christ steals on and on in the world of human thought, and the enmity of one age falls before him in the next. ‘Every battle (among men) is with confused noise and garments rolled in blood’; but after quite another manner God is bringing about the unification of all nations under Christ. Truth’s battle, which is Love’s success, steals on, like some sweet mystic fire which ‘subdues all things to itself’” (Dr. John Pulsford).

viii. 2. *I was in the palace . . . and I saw in the vision.* “Even in a palace life may be lived well” (Marcus Aurelius).

viii. 3 f., 7 f. “As I gazed out into vacancy, the grey masses began to move, to wave to and fro; it seemed as if the wind swept heavy veils away, and suddenly there lay disclosed right before me a sheet of cold, dark northern sea. A rock rose out of it, snow-covered, and carrying on its crags long icicles, which hung down to the sinister-looking water. On the top of the rock sat a huge polar bear; his paws were holding the carcass of the last animal he had found in this wilderness, and he looked triumphantly around as if to say, ‘Now am I sole lord of the world.’ But already the black waters moved and gurgled, and out of them arose the shining body and the huge fins of a snake-like monster; his walrus head carried a real mane, and from his mouth hung seaweed and the remnants of

some small fish—the last he had found in the sea. His glassy, greenish eyes stared about, and they also seemed to say, ‘Now am I quite alone, master of the world.’ But suddenly the huge white bear and the sea monster caught sight of each other; the enormous fins beat the waves, the cruel paws clawed at the rock. Both were yet gorged with food, but already they were measuring one another with angry looks like future adversaries. They had devastated the whole world, and now they met in this desolate waste for the ultimate fight. . . . I believe that for a moment the clouds which ever surround us had lifted, allowing me to catch a glimpse of the history of the world; which often is a history of wild beasts” (From *The Letters Which Never Reached Him*).

viii. 27. “Great position often invests men with a second sight whose visions they lock up in silence, content with the work of the day” (John Morley).

“He dreamed a dream so luminous,  
He woke (he says) convinced; but what it taught  
Withholds as yet. Perhaps those graver shades  
Admonished him that visions told in haste  
Part with their virtues to the squandering lips,  
And leave the soul in wider emptiness.”

(George Eliot.)

ix. 2. *I understood by the books.*

“For if I write, paint, carve, a word indeed  
On book or board or dust, on floor or wall,  
The same is kept of God, who taketh heed  
That not a letter of the meaning fall  
Or ere it touch and teach the world's deep heart.”

(E. B. Browning.)

ix. 3. *With fasting.* “Fasting is an indispensable condition of a good life; but in fasting, as in self-control in general, the question arises, with what shall we begin?—How to fast, how often to eat, what to eat, what to avoid eating? And as we can do no work seriously without re-

garding the necessary order of sequence, so also we cannot fast without knowing where to begin—with what to commence self-control in food. Fasting! and even an analysis of how to fast, and where to begin—the very notion of it sounds ridiculous and wild to most men. I remember how, with pride at his originality, an evangelical preacher, who was attacking monastic asceticism, once said to me, ‘Ours is not a Christianity of fasting and privations, but of beef-steaks’!” (Tolstoy).

ix. 4. “The *attractive* aspects of God’s character must not be made more apparent to such a being as man than His chastening and severer aspects. We must not be invited to approach the Holy of Holies without being made aware, painfully aware, of what Holiness is. We must know our own unworthiness ere we are fit to approach or imagine an Infinite Perfection. The most nauseous of false religions is that which affects a fulsome fondness for a Being not to be thought of without awe, or spoken of without reluctance” (Bagehot). .

ix. 4 f. “For God is at hand, and the Most High rules in the children of men. . . . The same light which lets you see sin and transgression, will let you see the covenant of God, which blots out your sin and transgression, which gives victory and dominion over it, and brings into covenant with God. For looking down at sin and corruption and distraction, ye are swallowed up in it; but looking at the light, which discovers them, ye will see over them” (George Fox to Lady Claypole).

“I have told,  
O Britons, O my brethren, I have told  
Most bitter truth, but without bitterness.  
Nor deem my zeal or factious or mistimed;  
For never can true courage dwell with them,  
Who, playing tricks with conscience, dare not look  
At their own vices. We have been too long  
Dupes of a deep delusion! Some, belike,

Groaning with restless enmity, expect  
 All change from change of constituted power;  
 As if a government had been a robe,  
 On which our vice and wretchedness were tagged  
 Like fancy-points and fringes, with the robe  
 Pulled off at pleasure . . . Others, meanwhile,  
 Dote with a mad idolatry; and all  
 Who will not fall before their images  
 And yield them worship, they are enemies  
 Even of their country!"

(Coleridge, *Fears in Solitude*.)

ix. 20. See Miss Rossetti's lines "By the Waters of Babylon."

*My sin and the sin of my people.*

"Do you know, when I see a poor devil drunk and brutal, I always feel, quite apart from my aesthetical perceptions, a sort of shame, as if I myself had some hand in it" (W. Morris).

"No man's thoughts ever fell more into the forms of a kind of litany than Mr. Maurice's. . . They were the confessions befitting a kind of litany, poured forth in the name of human nature, the weakness and sinfulness of which he felt most keenly, most painfully, but which he felt at least as much in the character of the representative of a race by the infirmities of which he was overwhelmed, as on his own account. . . . Whenever you catch that he feels—as all the deeper religious natures have always felt—a sort of self-reproachful complicity in every sinful tendency of his age, you feel that the litany in which he expresses his shame is not so much morbid self-depreciation as a deep sense of the cruel burden of social infirmity and social sin" (R. H. Hutton).

JAMES MOFFATT.

(To be continued.)

## *THE WORSHIP OF THE VIRGIN MARY AT EPHESUS.*

### I. GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE SITUATION.

THE recent discovery of the so-called House of the Virgin at Ephesus, where the mother of the Saviour spent the latter part of her life, and where she died and was buried, forms a curious and interesting episode in the history of religion—not indeed the history of the Christian religion, for it hardly touches even the fringe thereof, but certainly the history of Anatolian religion or religiosity. Briefly put, the story is that an uneducated woman in a German convent saw in a vision the place in the hills south of Ephesus where the Virgin Mary had lived, and described it in detail, immediately after she had the vision; that her vision was printed and published in Germany; that after the lapse of about fifty years the book came into the hands of some Roman Catholics in Smyrna, by whom the trustworthiness of the vision was keenly discussed; that a priest in Smyrna who took a leading part in controverting the authority of the vision made a journey into the mountains in order to prove by actual exploration that no such House existed; that he found the House exactly as it was described in the published account of the vision, amid surroundings which were also accurately described therein; and that he returned to Smyrna convinced of the truth against his previous judgment. A Roman Catholic festival has since the discovery been arranged annually. Though the justifi-

ability of this festival is warmly disputed by other Catholics outside of the neighbourhood of Smyrna and Ephesus, it may perhaps gradually make its way to general recognition and receive ultimately official authorization.

What seems to be the most real point of interest in this story is that through this strange and round-about method the permanence of Anatolian religion has asserted itself. Those Catholics who maintain that this is the House of the Virgin have really restored the sanctity of a locality where the Virgin Mother was worshipped thousands of years before the Christian era, and have worked out in perfection a chapter in the localization of Anatolian religion. We do not mean by this that there has been any deception in the gradual evolution of the "discovery." When the story was first told to the present writer at Smyrna in 1901, the highest character was attributed by quite trustworthy and unprejudiced informants to the Catholic priest who finally made the discovery of the House. He was described as an engineer, a man of science and education, who had entered the priesthood in mature years after a life of activity and experience, and also as a man of honour and unimpeachable veracity; and his original attitude of scepticism and strong disapproval in face of the statements narrated in the vision, at the time when the book first became known in Smyrna,<sup>1</sup> was said to have been a public and well authenticated fact. There seems to be no reason (apart from the fixed resolve to disbelieve) for doubting his good faith and his change of opinion when he went and saw for himself.

Equally improbable is it to suppose that there can be any bad faith or deception in the earliest stages of the evolution of this modern legend. The earliest pub-

<sup>1</sup> This was in November, 1890. The "discovery" was made on Wednesday, 29 July, 1891, the Feast of Saint Martha, the third day of continuous search in the mountains.

lication of the visions of the German nun, Anne Catharine Emmerich, is not accessible to the present writer, and Professor A. Souther finds that it is not in the Bodleian Library; but a translation in English was published long before the actual discovery took place; and any person may with a little trouble satisfy himself of the existence of the printed record of this and other visions in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>1</sup>

Nor is it a reasonable supposition that Anne Catharine Emmerich had access to any careful description of the localities south of Ephesus. Those hills have been unexplored and unknown. Although the sacred place is not far from the site of the ancient city, yet the scanty population of the modern village Ayassoluk (Hagios Theólogos, St. John) have no interest or knowledge in such matters; and western explorers had never penetrated into the hill country, which was extremely dangerous as a resort of brigands until a quite recent date. Moreover, the nun is described as having had little education: she was the daughter of poor peasants of Westphalia, who is said to have had an aversion to reading, and rarely to have touched a book. Her visions, so far as we know them, confirm this account, and are the products of a simple mind, trained in the popular Roman Catholic ideas and

<sup>1</sup> The fundamental authority seems to be the publication of C. Brentano on the *Life of the Blessed Virgin founded on the Visions of A. C. Emmerich* (Cotta, Stuttgart, 1841). See also the *Life of A. C. E.* by Helen Ram (London, Burns & Oates, 1874); and also various works published after the "discovery," *Panaghia-Capouli, ou Maison de la Sainte Vierge près d'Éphèse* (Oudin, Paris and Poitiers, 1896); *Éphèse ou Jerusalem Tombeau de la Sainte Vierge* (id., ib. 1897); *The Death of the Blessed Virgin Mary and her Assumption into Heaven*, from the Meditations of A. C. E.: translated from the French by Geo. Richardson (Duffy & Co., Dublin, 1897). I have seen only the third and fourth of these five books; also a Greek counterblast by Archdeacon Chrysostomos, printed at Athens and published at Smyrna in 1896, under the title of *Καρουλή-Παναγία*.

[As this first half of the paper goes to print, I have the opportunity of visiting the site with a French translation of the first in my pocket.]

traditions about the Saints, Anna, Joachim, and the rest, and weaving slightly elaborated forms of the ordinary tales. There are also some evident traces of information gained from reading or hearing descriptions of Ephesus (as distinguished from the hills south of Ephesus), and this information is not always accurately worked up in the details.

One who was bent on finding deception in the incidents would seize on the circumstances in which the visions were committed to writing. The nun's fame came to the knowledge of the world when there appeared marks on her body like those on the body of the Saviour; and medical and ecclesiastical examination vindicated her personal character. Count Stolberg's letter to a friend, describing his visit to her, was published, and attracted the attention of the poet Brentano. He went to see her for the first time on September 24, 1818; and in subsequent visits he wrote down her visions, which he published. Probably the literary power of the amanuensis improved the literary quality of the visions; but we may justifiably refuse to think that Brentano invented anything or made pure additions to the words of Anne. It is, however, true that a considerable interval elapsed between his hearing the visions from Anne and his publication of them. Anne died in 1824, and Brentano's book appeared only in 1841.

But even those who would maintain that the visions are the highly idealized memory or the invention of Brentano, and not the imaginings of Anne, only put the difficulty one step away. They explain nothing. There is no reason to think that Brentano could have had access to any peculiar source of knowledge of Ephesian localities and mountains, from which he could learn anything important about the history of that nook among the hills during the Middle Ages. There is a sacred place where the House was discovered: it has been a sacred place, to which the Orthodox Greek peasants went on pilgrimage,



throughout later Christian times : in the present article an attempt will be made to prove that it was a sacred place in the remote pre-Christian times. It seems a more credible thing that the vision of a secluded and imaginative maiden should have suggested the search and the discovery of this obscure locality than that the fanciful invention of a German poet should do so.

But it is really an unimportant detail whether the nun saw in her ecstatic meditation the House among the Ephesian hills (as it seems to us most probable that she did), or the poet invented the description by reconstructing into a poetic picture with happy power the elements which he had gained from reading and study. Either of these theories is almost equally remote from the one practical fact, viz., the process whereby the unity of Ephesian religion worked itself out, turning to its own purposes certain Christian names and forms, and trampling under foot all the spirit of Christianity.

The brief reference to this subject in the present writer's *Letters to the Seven Churches of Asia*, p. 218, has caused some inquiries, and this episode in the history of religion seems worthy of more careful and detailed study.

## II. THE SURVIVAL OF PAGAN CULTS.

The fundamental fact, viz., the continuity of religious history in Asia Minor, is one which there is no need to prove. Yet it forms so remarkable a chapter in the history of religious ideas, that we may profitably give a sketch of the prominent facts.

The introduction of Christianity into the country broke the continuity for the moment. But the old religious feeling was not extirpated : it soon revived, and took up the struggle once more against its new rival. Step by step it conquered, and gradually destroyed the real quality of

Christianity. The old local cults took on new and outwardly Christianized forms; names were changed, and outward appearance; a show of Christian character was assumed. The Iconoclasts resisted the revival for a time, but the new paganism was too strong for them. The deep-seated passion for art and beauty was entirely on the side of that Christianized paganism, into which the so-called Orthodox Church had degenerated; and architecture together with the painting of images (though not sculpture) was its chosen servant. Where the rhetorician Aristides in the second century had invoked in his sickness the guidance and healing power of Asclepius of Smyrna, the emperor John Vatatzes, in the thirteenth century, when he was afflicted by disease, went to invoke the Christ of Smyrna.<sup>1</sup> The old Greek sailors and Roman merchants, when voyaging or about to voyage in the changeable weather of the Black Sea (where dangerous and sudden storms might occur at almost any season of the year and where there was no sure season of fair weather, such as could be calculated on with confidence in the Aegean or the Mediterranean), had appealed to Achilles Pentarches, the Lord of the Sea (Pontus), to protect and guide them. The sailors of the Christian period appealed to St. Phocas of Sinope, to aid them. Similarly the sailors of the Levant, who had formerly prayed to the Poseidon of Myra, afterwards invoked St. Nicholas of Myra.<sup>2</sup> There is little essential difference in

<sup>1</sup> "Ὅπως τῷ ἐκείνῳ προσκυνῆσαι Χριστῷ, *Acrop.*, p. 91. See *Histor. Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 116, *Church in R. Emp.* p. 466. I know no other case in which the person of Christ is degraded into a mere local deity. As a general rule, some saint takes the place of the old local impersonation of divine power, and the figure of the Saviour stands apart on a higher plane; but here (and perhaps in other cases unobserved by me) the analogy of Asclepius the Saviour has been seductive. Zeus the Saviour would also be a tempting analogy.

<sup>2</sup> *St. Paul the Traveller* (1895), p. 298. Add to the remarks there given a reference to *Mélanges Perrot* (1902), p. 25, where M. Bourguet remarks that

religious feeling between the older practice and the new : paganism is only slightly disguised in these outwardly Christianized cults.

Examples might be multiplied. They occur in all parts of the country, as exploration enables us to gather some conception of the religious history of the different districts. Local variety is inevitably hostile to the Christian spirit, because Christianity is unity, and its essence lies in the common brotherly feeling of the scattered parts of a great single whole. In the centre of Cappadocia one of the greatest sanctuaries of the land was that of Zeus of Venasa (where the name Zeus is the Hellenization of a native Cappadocian divine idea); his annual progress through his own country was one of the greatest festivals of the year; and it may be taken for granted that in the usual Anatolian style the chief priest wore the dress and even bore the name of the god. In the fourth century, when we find that a Christian deacon at Venasa takes the leading part in a festival of somewhat orgiastic character accompanied by a dancing chorus of women celebrants, and that this leader does not appear in his own character, but wears the dress and plays the part of the Patriarch, we recognize the old pagan elements in a slightly varied garb. This particular manifestation of the reviving paganism was put down by the strict puritan spirit of Basil the Great; but it was rare that such tendencies, which broke out broadcast over the land, found a champion of Christian purity to resist them. The feeling of the mass of the Cappadocian Christians seems rather to have been against Basil in this case, though his energy and intense fervour of belief, combined with his authority as supreme bishop of the Province, swept away all opposition, and converted lukewarm friends the existence of a Church of St. Nicholas at Castri would alone have been a sufficient proof that Poseidon had a worship there in ancient Delphi, but that now epigraphic proof has been discovered of the existence of a shrine of Poseidon called Poteidanion.

or even opponents into his agents and servants in resisting the new paganism.<sup>1</sup>

On the frontier of Pisidia and Phrygia there is a fine fountain of cold water beside the village of Yassi-Euren. The village is purely Mohammedan; but the Christians once a year come on pilgrimage to it as a sacred fountain, or Ayasma, and this Christian name is applied to it even by the Mohammedan villagers. Finding there a Latin inscription dedicated to Hercules Restitutor, we cannot doubt that Hercules (who is often known as the god of medicinal, and especially of hot, springs) was regarded as the divine power who restored health to the sick by means of this healing spring, Hercules being, of course, merely a Latinized expression for the native Anatolian god of the healing power.

Frequently the same saint is, through some natural and obvious association, selected in widely different localities to be the Christian embodiment of a pagan deity. The choice of St. Nicholas at Delphi, already quoted, may be a case of transference and imitation. But the choice of St. Demetrios in place of the goddess Demeter in various parts of Greece was probably suggested separately and independently in several different places; and the cause must have been pure resemblance of name, since the sex differs and there is no other apparent correspondence. Moreover, in Anatolia, the Great Mother, the Meter, experiences the same transformation, and, beyond all doubt, the same reason caused the selection of this particular Christian substitute; thus, for example, the holy Phrygian city, Metropolis, the city of the Mother goddess, was transformed into the Christian Demetrioupolis.

<sup>1</sup> On the whole episode see *The Church in the Roman Empire*, chap. xviii. p. 448 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The proof seems now fairly complete and convincing that the site of

For a totally different reason the correspondence of the goddess Artemis to the Virgin Mary was equally striking and widely recognized. In both cases the virgin nature was a fundamental principle in the cult, and yet in both cases motherhood was an equally, if not more, deep-seated element of the worship on its mystic side. For reasons that have been fully explained often elsewhere<sup>1</sup> the Virgin Artemis was the divine mother and teacher and guide of her people. It will not be difficult to show that there was a similar thought underlying the worship of the Virgin in Anatolia.

The *locus classicus* as to the early stage of the worship of the Virgin Mother of God at Ephesus is in the Acts of the Council held there in A.D. 431 (on which see below, § iii.). A sermon delivered in A.D. 429 by Proclus, bishop of Cyzicus, apparently at Constantinople, forms a sort of introduction to the Acts of the Council. The occasion and sacred ceremony at which the sermon was delivered is there formally entitled "The Panegyris of the Virgin" (*παρθενικὴ πανήγυρις*).

The subject of the sermon is "celebrating the glorification of the race of women"; it is "the glory of the Female,"<sup>2</sup> due to her "who was in due time Mother and Virgin." "Earth and Sea<sup>3</sup> do honour to the Virgin." "Let Nature skip in exultation: women are honoured. Let Humanity dance in chorus: virgins are glorified. The sacred Mother of God, Mary, has brought us here together." She is called, in terms hardly distinguishable

this Metropolis was a few miles further north than I formerly placed it. It was the city centre of the territory in which were the great monuments of early Phrygia, the tombs of Midas and the other kings of the archaic dynasty, the true metropolis of early Phrygia.

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Hastings' *Dictionary*, art. *Diana*, and *Religion of Greece and Asia Minor*.

<sup>2</sup> Τοῦ γένους τῶν γυναικῶν καύχημα τὸ τελούμενον and δόξα τοῦ θήλεος.

<sup>3</sup> Capitals are needed here to express the strong personification which approximates to the Pagan conception of Gaia and Thalassa as deities.

from the language of paganism, "the fleece very pure, moist from the rain of heaven, through whose agency the Shepherd put on him the (form and nature of) the sheep,<sup>1</sup> she who is slave and mother, virgin and heaven, the sole bridge by which God passes to men."

It seems impossible to mistake or to deny the meaning implied in this language. The Anatolian religious feeling desiderated some more clear and definite expression of an idea dear to it, beyond the expression which was otherwise contained in the rites and language of Christianity. That idea was the honour, the influence, the inevitableness in the world, of the female element in its double aspect of purity and motherhood. "Purity is the material,"<sup>2</sup> but purity that is perfected in maternity. The Virgin the Mother, the purity of motherhood, was to the popular Anatolian religious sentiment the indispensable crown of the religious idea. This beautiful and remarkable sentiment shows on what a real and strong foundation the worship of the Virgin in Anatolia rested, and how the Iconoclast movement was weakened by its opposition to a deep-seated Anatolian sentiment. Perhaps in the West the worship of the Virgin rests on a different basis. So far as I am aware her character has been regarded in the West rather as a mere adjunct or preparation for the divine nature of her Son, while in the Anatolian cult (if I am right) it has been looked at and glorified for its own sake and as an end in itself, as the divine prototype of the nature and duty of womanhood in its most etherealized form.

It would be an interesting and useful task to investigate how far the view which was taken in the West can be traced as guiding the writings of the great writers and

<sup>1</sup> 'Οτοῦ ἐξ οὐρανῶν ὑεροῦ καθαρῶτατος πόκος, ἐξ οὗ ὁ Ποιμὴν τὸ πρόβατον ἐρεδύσατο.

<sup>2</sup> Ἐχει γὰρ ἀγγελίας ὑπόθεσιν.

theologians who championed the worship of the Virgin in the Eastern Church. There was, certainly, a marked diversity in the East between the popular view and what may be called the sacerdotal view, held by the educated theologians. The former was much more frankly pagan. The latter took on a superficial adaptation to Christian doctrine, and for this purpose the person of Christ had to be made the central, governing thought and the Mother must be regarded only as subsidiary. But this subject lies outside the scope of this article, and beyond the powers and knowledge of the present writer. It may be added, however, that the divergence can probably be traced down to the present day in the cult of the Virgin Mother at Ephesus. The Greek sacerdotal view seems never to have been that the Virgin Mary lived or died at Ephesus, though it recognized the holiness of the sacred place and regarded it as specially devoted to the person of the Virgin and as a special abode of her power. The popular view desired her personal presence there during her life, and clung to the idea in a half-articulate fashion that she came to Ephesus and lived there and died there. The sacerdotal expression seems in some cases to have shrunk from a frank and pointed contradiction of the popular view, while it could not formally declare it in its thoroughgoing form. In the Acts of the Council of Ephesus this intermediate form of expression seems to rule. As we shall see in § iii. there is nothing said there which can be taken as proving that the belief in the real living presence of the Virgin Mary at Ephesus was held. But the opponents of Nestorius relied on the popular support; and, in the Council which was called to judge and condemn his views, they were unwilling to say anything that could be seized on by Nestorius and his followers as telling on their side, or might tend to alienate popular feeling.

It is equally impossible to overlook the fact that some-

thing approximating to that idea was peculiarly characteristic of Anatolian religion and society in all ages and variations of the common general type. The idea was not so beautifully expressed in the older religion; the ritual form was frequently allied to much that was ugly and repulsive; it was often perverted into a mere distortion of its original self. But in many cases these perversions allow the originally beautiful idea to shine through the ugliness that has enveloped it, and we can detect with considerable probability that the ugliness is due, at least in part, to degradation and degeneration. The article "Diana of the Ephesians" in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, suffers from the failure to distinguish between earlier and later elements in the Anatolian ritual; the writer attained to a clearer conception of the subject in preparing the article in the same work on the *Religion of Greece and Asia Minor*, though even there it is not expressed with sufficient precision and definiteness.

Closely connected with this fundamental characteristic in Anatolian religion is the remarkable prominence of the female in the political and social life of the country. Many of the best attested cases of *Mutter-recht* in ancient history belong to Asia Minor. Even under the Roman rule (when Western ideas, springing from war, conquest, and the reign of violence and brute strength were dominant), the large number of women mentioned as magistrates and officials in the most "advanced" cities of the whole country strikes every student of the ancient monuments as an unusual feature. It can hardly be explained except through the power of that old native belief and respect for the mother and the teacher. The mother goddess was merely the religious prototype and guarantee and enforcement of the social custom. A young French scholar, who collected with much diligence from inscriptions examples of the custom surviving in the Roman time, advanced the



theory as an explanation that these magistrates were rich women whom the people wanted to wheedle out of their money; and there is no evidence in his book that he felt himself to be perpetrating an elaborate archaeological joke; but that would be the best justification for advancing such an opinion on a professedly historical or antiquarian treatise.

An indubitable example of the Virgin Artemis transformed into the Christian Mother of God is found at the northern end of the great double lake, called Limnai in ancient times, and now known by two names for the two parts, Hoiran-Göl and Egerdir-Göl. Near the north-eastern corner of the lakes there is still said to be a sacred place of the Christians, to which they come on pilgrimage from a distance, though there is no Christian settled population nearer than Olu-Borlu (the ancient Apollonia). A large body of inscriptions has been collected from the neighbourhood, showing that there was here a peculiar worship of the goddess Artemis, which preserved the native Anatolian character unimpaired through the Greek and Roman periods, and to which strangers came from great distances. Her worshippers in her home by the Limnai seem to have been united in a fraternity whose members recognized one another by some secret sign (*τέκμωρ*, an old poetic term, reintroduced in this artificial Greek as spoken by a non-Greek people).

Our view is that the similar Virgin Artemis of Ephesus, who in the mystic ritual was set before her worshippers as the mother, nurse, governor and leader of her swarming people, the great Queen-Bee, was transformed into the Ephesian Mother of God; and that the same change was made independently all over the Anatolian land.

There is, therefore, in this popular tendency a real cause, continuously and effectively operative, in many, doubtless in all, parts of the Anatolian country. It was strenuously

opposed by a party in the Church. The conflict between the two opinions lasted for many centuries; but finally the popular opinion was victorious and established itself as the "Orthodox" principle, while the more purely Christian opinion became the "heretical" view and its supporters were proscribed and persecuted; and the ill-feeling and division indubitably seriously weakened the Eastern Christian Empire in its struggle against Mohammedanism.

The view which this paper is intended to support is that the establishment of the cult of the Virgin Mother of God at Ephesus is a critical, epoch-making date in the development of Byzantine government and religion. The whole process by which it was established is a page in the history of the Empire. Ephesus, which had long been the champion of a purer faith,<sup>1</sup> and the touchstone of error, as both John and Ignatius emphatically declare, was now made the stronghold of an Anatolian development, a recrudescence of the old religion of the Divine Mother.

But the question may be asked whether the view advocated in this article is is not prejudiced and one-sided. Are we not advocating too strongly the Anatolian element and neglecting the possibility of development within the bounds of Christianity? The dogmatic side may safely be left to others. There are plenty of able advocates always ready to discuss matters of dogma and systematic theology, and the present writer never has presumed to state an opinion on such lofty matters. But there are some historical points which may be briefly noticed in the following § iii.

At the last moment, before sending this part to the printer, while sitting looking out over the site of the Temple of the Ephesian goddess, I may add that, in the excavations now going on amid the ruins of that famous Temple, a small terra-cotta image has been found, somewhat archaic in style, representing the goddess sitting and

<sup>1</sup> *Letters to the Seven Churches*, pp. 239-242.

holding an infant in her arms. This rather rudely formed expression of popular belief was taken at the first moment of discovery by some of those who saw it as a mediæval image of the Madonna and Child, though more careful contemplation showed that it must have been made several centuries before the time of Christ. It is a complete proof, in its startling resemblance to the later Christian representation, of the perfect continuity of Anatolian religious sentiment amid outward differences.

W. M. RAMSAY.

*(To be continued.)*

*SURVIVALS OF ANCIENT SEMITIC RELIGION IN  
SYRIAN CENTRES OF MOSLEM AND CHRIS-  
TIAN INFLUENCE.*

WHEN I speak of ancient Semitic religion, I mean the earliest form of religion among the Semites concerning which we can secure any information; a religion which antedates Islam, Judaism, or the representations found in the Old Testament; a form of religion which presents its sacrifices without an altar and without the use of fire.

In characterizing the religion as Semitic I do not thereby raise the question whether it is essentially different in its primal features from the manifestations of religion to be found among other peoples. This is not probable. As men of all races have essentially the same physical and mental characteristics, but with marked differences, so a study of comparative religion must doubtless show that the simplest religion differs among various peoples in its manifestations rather than in its essence. Hence we may well find some of the same manifestations of religion everywhere in the world.

It may seem a bold claim to maintain that the most ancient institutions may be found in existence to-day. This does not necessarily mean that certain tribes and peoples have retained their customs unchanged for millenniums, though it may. It is of course possible that there has been degeneration, or a reversion to an original type, as it is said that some American Indians, men and women, who have enjoyed the advantages of a good education, sometimes revert to barbarism. It does mean that the primitive characteristics of religion may be found to-day.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF ANCIENT RELIGION.

There is a divine being who is potentially the god of a particular domain, whose place of worship is determined by one or more revelations of himself there. These revelations may be in connexion with some natural object or appearance, as a tree, stone, fountain, or hot-air vent; but it is more commonly in connexion with his supposed place of burial. A man who is considered the progenitor of his tribe, as among the Arabs, or a political or religious sheik, or one of the ancient prophets, is practically deified. He is looked upon as possessing the same powers that he had in life after death, and by the working of the mythological principle this power is greatly enhanced in the estimation of those who approach him. In some respects the worship rendered, especially among the Arabs, might seem like ancestor worship; but this could by no means explain all the details, which must be grouped under some broader principle. It is not perhaps essentially different from that found among some African tribes, where a departed king becomes an object of worship.

Among Syrians and Arabs human relations are predicated of these beings. Those of the higher class (*nebis*) eat and drink and live with their wives. Sarah is still alive at the cave of Machpelah. A Syrian, who ven-

tured to look down into the cave, saw the ancestress of the Hebrew nation engaged in the very feminine occupation of combing her hair, and, as the story goes, was struck blind for a time because of his presumption. On occasion the prophets and the welis, or the lower class who are denied the ordinary joys of life, may confer on barren women the crown of motherhood.

Men and especially women are under the bondage of fear. The stern phenomena of nature—drouth, disease, death—are conceived of as living powers; deserts, dens, caves and graves are believed to be peopled with evil spirits. They invade human dwellings. They threaten men on every hand.

Even God himself is often the author of evil, so far as such a being is conceived of. He denies the joy of children, He sends drouth, disease and death. He has removed far from the world, like some great despot.

The root of religion for the primitive man is in a sense of need in dealing with the adverse powers of nature. While studying this question we must think of man in his simplest condition. We must think ourselves into the place of the Arab, or the wild man of Africa, of America, or of the South Seas, as he is called to contend with the forces of nature. To apply our theological conceptions to the religion of such a man, to predicate communion on his part in the simplest stage of his being with a departed prophet, saint, or ancestor, is to introduce ideas which we have no reason to believe existed among the earliest men, or exist now among races who have not been taught positive religion,—is to be unprepared for a study of primitive religion.

As is well known, the idea of holiness did not exist among the Semites until it was taught Israel by the Old Testament prophets. Nor is there any indication that justice forms any part in the primitive conception of such a being. He is simply powerful, one who can help in a given need.

Men's experience in the Orient with their fellow-men, who are possessed of power, is that their favour or assistance must always be purchased. The savage African hunter, when he throws a piece of game to his deity, recognizes this principle. It is not strange that Stanley, in reporting such an incident, should say that such a man belonged to a people that had no religion.<sup>1</sup> But in this he is mistaken, for in this incident we have an indication of one of the simplest stages of religion and of its motive among a primitive people. The whole system of vows, gifts and sacrifices, as found among Syrians and Arabs, is simply an effort to secure the favour of a divine being. The observation of a multitude of cases gives this conclusion, to me at least, the certainty of a fact. The reason for the gift is always the same: it is either to avert some evil, as disease of men or animals, the robbery of flocks and herds, defeat in raids or battles; or to secure some positive good, such as the birth of a male son to a barren woman, or a prosperous journey, or some other success. The man or woman goes to the divine being and promises that, if certain things are done, he will bring a gift of incense, oil, etc., or a present from the flock or herd. The relation to such a being is purely a commercial one, and is described by the Prophet Hosea in his account of the Baalim, who were considered as the proprietors of certain pieces of land. In this ownership we have an illustration of monolatry on a small scale, as Yahwe was regarded as the God of the land of Israel (Joel ii. 18; Ps. x. 16, etc.). The Israelitish farmer, who professed to worship Yahwe, considered it necessary, in order to ensure a good yield of corn, wine, or oil, to bring a gift to his local Baal (Hos. ii. 5, 7, 8). This is essentially ancient religion, i.e. man seeks the aid of a higher being in those things for which a human being, however powerful, could not avail. This higher being is

<sup>1</sup> Stanley, *In Darkest Africa* (3rd ed.), vol. ii. p. 368.

not God the creator of the world, but a lower grade of divine being, who, either through his own power or by the influence which he has with God Himself, is able to secure the petition which the suppliant makes to him. This is the main characteristic of primitive religion, so far as we can follow it, among the primitive Semites as well as among other primitive peoples.

It now remains to ascertain how far this form of religion survives in Syrian centres of Moslem and Christian influence to-day. There can be no doubt that among the Arabs, the peasants and the villagers it is the religion which moves them most profoundly. After visiting many parts of Syria during four summers I am convinced that the religion, essentially as described, is the religion of the common people. The evidence may be found in my book entitled, *Ursemitische Religion im Volksleben des heutigen Orients*. Syncretism exists just as truly to-day among Moslem and Christian peasants in those parts of the country I have visited as among the ancient Israelites, as described by the Prophet Hosea, who instead of calling Yahwe *Ishi* called him *Baali* (Hos. ii. 16, 17).

The question which I propose to investigate in this paper is whether a like syncretism exists in the large cities and towns of Syria.

During the summers of 1903-1904 I have devoted especial attention to the investigation of the theme proposed as the subject of this paper. In its elucidation I have visited the following places, and in the order named—1903: Safed, Nazareth, Beisan, Haifa, Tyre, Sidon, Beirut; 1904: Damascus, Hums, Hama, Aleppo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Hebron, Nablus.

In the conduct of these latter investigations my interviews have been not merely with the unlearned, but with the religious heads, and learned men of such places as Haifa, Sidon, Beirut, Damascus, Hums, Hama, Aleppo,

Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus. By these I have been received with the fine patience and courtesy which is characteristic of the Mussulman gentleman. Many of them have returned my calls. It is not in any sense my intention, even if it were not contrary to the rules of the Congress, to introduce any criticism of the Moslem faith, but rather to show as the result of the most careful observations that there are survivals of the ancient religion as already sketched. The evidence that there are such survivals is threefold: 1. In the clear and indisputable proof that in the crises of their lives the vast majority of Moslems have recourse to the saints (*nebis, welis*); 2. In the manifold appearance at each centre of the main characteristics of the ancient religion; 3. In the attitude of the most intelligent Moslems with reference to this religion. I cannot speak with the same authority regarding the existence of this religion among the adherents of the ancient churches in the centres named. In the villages multitudes of them visit the same religious shrines as the Moslems and perform the same religious acts; this is especially true of members of the Greek Church. In the towns such investigations are beset with peculiar difficulties. So far as the main facts are concerned ecclesiastics would be inclined to deny or ignore the existence of the ancient customs within their own sects. In my own mind I am convinced that many survivals of the ancient religion are to be found, not only among the Christians of the country, but also among those of the large towns. The evidence, on the other hand, of such survivals in the great centres of the Moslem faith seems to me to be of the strongest character.

1. In the crises of their lives the vast majority of the Moslems have recourse to the saints, who possess the same essential characteristics as the local deities of the peasants and Arabs and of the heathen Semites.



The evidence is as follows: (1) The Moslem world is divided, according to the testimony of the learned, into two portions—the enlightened, who form but a small percentage of the whole; the unenlightened, who constitute the vast majority. The supreme reliance of the latter in any time of trouble is upon some saint. The Moslem man or woman who has come to some strait goes to the makam or mezar of some nebi or weli, and promises him that in case he or she secures the aid sought he will bring him some gift—either oil, incense, a candle, a pall for his tomb, or a sheep, goat, or bullock to be killed in sacrifice. The form of vow differs according to the orthodoxy of the man or woman, or more likely the difference is often in the reported form according to the orthodoxy of the informant. The most natural way, which is often practised by peasants and Arabs, is to call directly on the saint. If a camel slips, he says, *yá chudr!* if the billows are especially high off Jaffa, the boatman cries, *ya rasúl allah!* But such immediate cries to a divine being are not limited to the ignorant. A native physician of high standing is authority for the statement that a young man belonging to one of the most intelligent families of his city, when in great pain, was moaning to the traditional progenitor of his family, “O Sidi Chalid, help!” But this same young man, in reporting the proper form of such a vow, said: “O God, there is upon me a vow to be paid Thee at the makam of Sidi Chalid.” How deeply inwrought the inclination is to have recourse to the weli in time of need, or to the local divinity, appeared in conversation with one of the most intelligent Moslems of Syria. The subject under discussion was in regard to the hold which the ancient religion has on the hearts of the people. By way of illustration a friend of our host, who was present, said: “My son is a student in the Syrian Protestant College at Beirut. The year has closed, and he should have come home. His mother was

so troubled about him, she said: 'I must go to the weli and ask his help.' I replied, 'You shall not do so; you do not need to pray to the weli, pray to God.' " The fact that the majority of Moslems go to the makams when in deep trouble was not disputed by leading Moslems, rather their intercessory power with God was emphasized. The illustration used was of a lesser official being employed to intercede with the Sultan in behalf of a person who prefers some special request, and who would not dare without such intercession of a mediator to bring his request before his august majesty.

Such makams, or places of worship of a local divinity, abound in the towns and cities already named. They are sometimes of great size, and enjoy extensive revenues. They are often combined with mosques, and are sometimes so important that the mosque is entirely subsidiary. If it be true, as I was assured, that the difference in function between the mosque and the makam is, that the makam is the place for making vows, while the mosque is the place for prayer, then in many combinations of mosques and makams vows are considered more important than prayers, or, in other words, the old religion often dominates Islam. An example of such domination is to be found at Hums, where a new mosque is being built in connexion with the famous makam of Sidi Chalid. As a constituent part of the tomb and mosque, is a large house, where a free supper is prepared daily for the poor. In the preparation of this supper all sacrifices of food are used.

Even in two of the largest mosques in Syria the sanctuary of a nebi has found a place, and the popular demand for a place for vows has been observed both in the great mosque at Damascus as well as in the great mosque at Aleppo. In the former, not to speak of the makams of Saladin and Hosein on the outside, is the makam of Yehanna, or of John the Baptist, a shrine of exceeding beauty on the

inside of the mosque, at which many vows are made. On the inside of the famous mosque at Aleppo, which is regarded as too sacred to be visited by infidels, is the shrine of Nebi Zachariah, which is a masterpiece of Arabian art, and at which numerous vows are promised.

Vows are also paid in monasteries and churches, showing conclusively that these sacred edifices are used for the rites of the ancient and illegitimate religion ; indeed such rites, in the popular estimation, are characteristic of the most famous monastery in all Syria, which belongs to the Greek Church. This monastery is known among all sects of Moslems as Chudr, and is visited by them. It is also visited by Christians belonging to ancient churches of every name. Vast revenues are received at this monastery in grain, in flocks and herds, which have been vowed to the saint, who is little less than the god of Syria.

At the Greek monastery of Mar Thekla in Má'lula, one of the three villages in Northern Syria, where Syriac is still spoken, numerous sacrifices are offered by Moslems and Christians, with but little difference in the ceremonies. These are in payment of vows for aid asked and given, i.e. a Christian saint is regarded, both by Moslems and Christians, as a weli. The sacred spot is a cave, into which the sacrifices are brought, and which are caused to pass three times around a marble pillar, about four feet in height, which is perhaps a survival of the mazzebah of ancient Israel (Deut. xii. 3, etc.). It may be considered as an unconscious representation of a local divinity, such as is found in the Nursi el-Aqtab, at Zebedani, on the way to Damascus.

Within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, sometimes called a makam, the same tendency to observe the ancient worship, though naturally under great restraint, may be seen. Even within the tomb itself the hair of a boy is cut, a most significant rite, representing the offering up of his personality.

2. Individual characteristics of the ancient religion now surviving.

There are many examples of these, more than can be presented in the present paper. It is very significant, although it does not belong to the following survey, that Abdul Huda, who has been and is one of the most trusted and influential advisers of the Sultan of Turkey, was born and bred as a derwish, and who, falling into a cataleptic state, perhaps like Baalim of old (Num. xxiv. 4, 16), has long counselled his majesty in matters of the kingdom.

Not to dwell on this fact, which doubtless has its roots in ancient religion, I refer rather to things which are found in Syria, many of which, though doubtless characteristic of large centres, have, as I believe, escaped my attention. In Safed there are two sacred springs which bring healing. Such springs are very numerous in various parts of Syria, and are, as is well known, characteristic of ancient religion. In Beirut there are two sacred wells, one at the shrine of Chudr, or Mar Jirjis. It is considered efficacious in the cure of various diseases. The power of Chudr is manifested in its waters in blessing. Bathing in these waters the childless woman may receive through Chudr himself the joy of motherhood. Indeed it is said that sons who are supposed to spring from such a union are sometimes called Chudr. In Juneh, near Beirut, is an artificial cave by the sea, known as Batiyeh, frequented by Maronites and others for a similar purpose, as well as in general for restoration to health. The idea still seems to lurk in the minds of the people that a human child born through the intervention of a weli may be considered in some sense as having a divine father; hence the custom in Safed of not putting a son on the shoulder to carry him until he has been put astride the grave of the weli to whom the barren woman made a vow. This formal act seems to be something like a recognition on the part of the weli that he is the pro-

genitor of the child (cf. Gen. xxx. 3, l. 23). In Nazareth there is a survival of the ancient religion in the complete transformation of the fountain of the Virgin into a fountain indwelt by a weli, known as en-Naṣariyeh, i.e. the Nazarine in the feminine. To her, in this character as weli, both Moslem and Christian women make vows, in payment of which the Moslems place a splotch of henna inside the arch of the fountain and the Christians a cross.

The worship of sacred stones is well attested as a Semitic custom. It is still found in various parts of Syria. Such stones are regarded as welis. At Karyaten, on the way to Palmyra, such a stone, a prostrate pillar of a ruined church, is walled in, since the ground immediately around it is holy, and is known among the Moslems as Abu Risha and among the Christians as Mar Risha. At the makam of Nebi Saidun, in Sidon, visited by Moslems, Christians and Jews, is a stone pillar, at the foot of which many of the animals brought in sacrifice are killed, so that the blood spurts on the base of the pillar. More or less vaguely such a stone must represent Nebi Saidun. It seems to be as truly a survival of the use of the ancient mazzeboth as may be found at the shrine of Nebi Iyub in the Druse mountains, where I saw three upright stones in the summer of 1900 in front of the makam, on the top of one of which, shaped like a phallus, blood had been poured. Fifty years ago, according to the testimony of a Mr. Wiseman of Jerusalem, there was a phallic stone in Tiberias, which was called Nebi Harun by those who desired children, and who addressed it in Arabic verse after they had bathed in the hot fountain near by. It has long since been broken. On little Hermon, about one hundred yards north from the summit, is an upright stone, against which Christ is said to have leaned, called Nazara, on the natural base of which Christians from Nazareth are said to offer sacrifices.

In Safed, Sidon, Beirut and Damascus, the worship of

sacred trees is still to be found. Each bears the name of a well. Before the one at Beirut, called Ali Ibn A'lam, six lamps may be found burning. Various objects are vowed, including animal sacrifices, such as sheep. These latter are slaughtered before the tree. The one for whom the vow was made steps over the blood. At the great plane tree in Damascus, known as Imam 'Ali, one lamp is kept burning. On the tree, when I saw it in 1902, was an inscription, which, according to my companion and others who are well versed in the lore of the people, ascribed to him the possession of miraculous power which was given him by God. I saw three Moslem ladies, handsomely dressed, kiss the tree in evident adoration, with the same fervour that my Druse guide kissed a holy stone at a makam in the Druse mountains. It is true that orthodox Moslems have a tradition, showing that the ancient worship of trees was feared, and that steps were taken to prevent it. The story is told that Mohammed and his companions were wont to gather under the grateful shade of a large tree. After his death it occurred to some of the leaders of Islam that the remembrance of this fact might give the tree a peculiar sanctity, so they had it cut down. There is, however, another saying that is quoted, and assigned to Mohammed by those who wish to justify the ancient worship of trees: "Some of them (i.e. of the trees) are believing and some of them are unbelieving." While Moslem orthodoxy condemns the worship of trees, there are numerous instances of its existence, aside from the sacred trees found near shrines, which are not objects of devotion, though the superstitious fear to cut a single twig from them.

The ancient institution of sacrifice exists to-day and in what seems to be its most primitive form. Examples may be found in all its essential features from one end of the country to the other, and in the great centres, i.e. in Safed, on Mount Carmel, within the precincts of the Carmelite

monastery, at several shrines in Sidon, at several in Beirut, at Damascus, at Hums, Hama, Aleppo, Jaffa, Jerusalem, Hebron and Nablus, sacrifices of animals are still brought. The blood is often put on the forehead of the one for whom the sacrifice is made in payment of a vow. Sacrifices are common in the construction of great public works, as they are said to have been among the ancient Babylonians. When railroads are begun or opened for traffic, as in such places as Jerusalem, Beirut and Damascus, the ground is soaked in the blood of the victims slain. When the great mosque was rebuilt at Damascus, blood was shed by the bases of the first two pillars. Even the Maronites have not been able to escape the grip of ancient custom. They retain the form of sacrifice at the annual festival of the sacred cedars of Lebanon, near the river Kadisha, though they slay the victims, as they say, simply to make provision for feasting. It is a curious fact that one finds in certain places, where the influence of positive religion is strong, ancient institutions, especially among Christians, still existing, though often, as explained by the priesthood, shorn of their ancient significance. The common people, even in the great cities, have a different story to tell in their account of sacrifice. They still retain the old ideas, unconscious of the source from which they have come.

The great pilgrimage to Mecca, which demands, in obedience to ancient custom, that the pilgrims should go around the holy house lightly clad, in decent imitation of their ancestors, who in the times of ignorance went around it naked, begins at Damascus with an encampment of some days, at the makam of Sheik Ahmed el-'Asailai, which is placed under the especial care of the muftis of Damascus. When the pilgrims return from Mecca, they stop at this makam again. Before Said Pasha sets out for Mecca from this place, he kills four sheep and says: "If I return from Mecca safely, I will kill four more." These various customs,

as has been observed, may be regarded as survivals of ancient religion.

3. I pass now to consider the attitude of the most intelligent Moslems with respect to this religion. (1) It is clearly and avowedly one of disapproval. The leaders often characterize the acts of the people in following these ancient customs as the result of ignorance and foolishness. One of the most intelligent Moslems in Syria, who belongs to one of the most aristocratic families, gave the following account of the Moslem religion in Damascus. "The Mohammedans in Damascus are really divided into two parties: 1. The educated and enlightened people. They do not believe in any of these things, but they are very few. 2. The servants of religion and the majority of the people. They are very simple. They believe in saints, in tombs, in communication between the living and the dead, holy trees, holy waters, holy persons, holy stones, in charms, etc. Such things are not found in the Moslem religion, but they entered into it, so that the great majority have recourse to the shrines. Another learned man said: "The Mohammedan religion does not allow vows except to God, but the people make vows to the saints. When they are in great trouble most of them make vows; this is especially true of the women." The mufti of Hums, a man of great reputation among the Moslems, said: "Vows at makams are not binding. Such vows are not a religious duty. They are not from Islam, but from the old customs. If I were asked 'shall I vow?' I would not permit it. Such religious observances are from the ignorance of the people, and are characteristic both of Moslems and Christians." The Mufti of Hama divided the Moslems into three classes: 1. The most enlightened; 2. Those who are less enlightened; 3. The ignorant, who form the majority. They believe the welis can do anything; therefore they go to them and sacrifice to them their best cow, or their best



sheep, or half the dowry of a daughter, so that the daughter may be preserved, or they may vow half a child or a quarter of him every year." (2) In any account that is given of such customs the effort is sometimes made by orthodox Moslems to explain them away, or give them some other significance. This is especially the case, as we have seen among some Christian ecclesiastics. (3) There is still a party who are trying to carry out the principles of the Wahabites, whom they compare to the leaders of the Protestant reformation. That which they successfully accomplished in the last century through violent means, such as the destruction of shrines, they now seek to bring about through instruction and the printed page. The difficulties with which they have to contend are illustrated by the fact that such a literature has to be printed in Egypt or India, and that some of the leaders of this reform movement are under the watchful eye of the Government. (4) Though not less decided in their denunciation of the ancient form of worship, the great majority of the enlightened do not consider it well to interfere with customs so deeply rooted in the affections of the people. Time and education, which shall gradually include large numbers of professed Moslems, must be trusted to do their work, and still the story is told that the Grand Sherif of Mecca, not very long ago, ordered that the shrines in Jeddah and Mecca should be pulled down. But I have not found this story decisively confirmed.

As might well be supposed, intelligent Moslems are ready with a reason for the wide practice of the illegitimate worship. These reasons rest purely on opinion and really carry no weight. Some say that the Moslems derived this ancient worship from the Greeks, others from the Jews. But this is an explanation that does not explain. Similar rites do exist among adherents of the Greek Church, but they are found more or less among other ancient Christian

sects, and the Jews have not been able to maintain a pure Judaism. The Jewish makam of Rabbi Shimon, at Meiron, near Safed, does not differ greatly from makams frequented by Moslems and Christians. And though sacrifices are known to be illegitimate, there is not only the sacrifice of fowls in connexion with the day of atonement all over the Jewish world, but sheep are offered by Jews at the makam of Eliyahu, at the foot of Mount Carmel, frequented by other sects as well as by themselves. They also make vows and bring sacrifices to their makam of Chudr, at Jobac, near Damascus, consisting of a synagogue and the makam. Besides, fowls are offered in payment of vows for those who are seriously ill and who have experienced recovery. These rites prepare the way for the conjecture of a Jewish rabbi in Hebron, which has no scientific value, though of interest in this connexion. "The custom of offering fowls on the day of atonement is contrary to the religion. Some say it is taken from the ancient Aramaeans." He himself thinks it was derived from the Arabs. The learned Jews seek to discourage the custom, but as it is an early custom, followed by most of the Jews, those that do not believe in it do not think it wise to give it up.

If we would explain the reason for the customs which we find so prevalent in all Syria among Moslems, Christians, and even among the Jews, and of which there are clear examples in these great centres, we must rather consider that the principle of ancient religion once found under the worship of the Baalim on high places and underneath green trees, still survives, and that among the majority of Moslems, even in the great centres, it is one of the most powerful forces of their lives. In their distresses they go to the makam as the source of help and hope. The weli, or nebi, whatever his name may be, is simply an accommodation of the divinity of the old religion of the high places, or of sacred stones, fountains or trees to the thought of the

present day. The names and some of the ceremonies have been changed, but the ancient worship in its essential features and ideas still remains.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

*MORE WORDS ON THE EPISTLE TO HEBREWS.*

IN a paper in the *EXPOSITOR* for November 1903, entitled "The Epistle to Hebrews as the Work of Barnabas," the following results, amongst others, were reached. "*Hebrews* was written by Barnabas from Italy, probably from a seaport, whence he hoped to sail very shortly—accompanied, if possible, by Timothy, fresh from an imprisonment connected with that of St. Paul. This was in A.D. 62, in the spring of which year James, the Lord's brother, suffered in Jerusalem. It was, perhaps, his death at the hands of the Jewish authorities (suggesting, as it did, that toleration of Jewish Christianity within national Judaism was becoming a thing of the past) which precipitated the crisis in the communities addressed in this writing, and of which Cæsarea may be taken as a type." It is the object of the present and concluding paper to supplement and amend this closing description of the recipients of the "word of exhortation," and also to show what light may be cast by truer views as to this point upon the lack of opening address to the Epistle as we have it.

The plural "communities" was used in the above summary in a preliminary or non-committal sense, the writer not yet having made up his mind whether more than one community might not be before our author's mind in writing. On this point he no longer feels ground for hesitation. Not more than one community appears to be addressed; and, if so, it was most probably located in Cæsarea, the place in all Palestine which had closest rela-

tions with Italy. But was the whole body of the Christians in Cæsarea addressed, or only some portion of it? One is not here thinking of the possibility that there were Jewish and Gentile sections within the local Church, organized more or less separately in house-churches, such as probably existed within the unity of every Church of considerable size in the apostolic age. It is rather with different circles within Jewish Christianity itself (including full proselytes) that we have to reckon, in asking whether there are any signs that the Epistle was addressed to a smaller body than "the Saints" in Cæsarea as a whole. And here we are at once confronted by the strange wording of the final salutations, "Salute all your leaders and all the saints." Why this reiterated emphasis on "all," unless a section only of the community is being addressed? Westcott observes, in agreement with the patristic commentators, that the special salutation of the leaders "implies that the letter was not addressed officially to the Church, but to some section of it." In fact, we may say that its author's aim was to bring a certain section or group into line with the views and practice of the local leaders (*ἡγούμενοι*), and of that part of the Church which followed them loyally. Nor need we, perhaps, labour the point further, since critics as diverse as Harnack and Zahn are agreed in regarding the phenomena of the Epistle as pointing to a "house-church" (*haus-gemeinde*), such as we hear of in the salutations at the end of Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

It is true, of course, that there are many passages in which this does not appear, the principles in question being of general application, or at any rate to all Jewish Christians of that time and place. But the most distinctive and concrete passages imply that the readers were persons "in the same general circumstances of age, position and opinion" (Westcott, on v. 11). Further, the character of the precepts in chapter xiii. 1-6 "suggests that the society to which

they were addressed consisted of wealthy and influential members." This impression is confirmed by the references to their past conduct and experiences in vi. 10f. and x. 32ff. There we learn that they "had ministered to (the material needs of) the saints, and were yet ministering"; and that in the persecutions of the early days after their "enlightenment" they had themselves been "made a standing gazing-stock by taunts and afflictions," while they had also on occasion shared the lot of those similarly treated—only to a degree beyond anything they themselves were called to endure. "For with those in bonds ye showed fellow-feeling, and the snatching of your possessions ye accepted with joy, knowing that ye had your own selves for a better possession and an abiding one" (*γινώσκοντες ἔχειν ἑαυτοὺς κρείσσονα ὑπαρξιν καὶ μένουσαν*). Similarly they are exhorted in the present crisis "to bear in mind those in bonds, as sharing their bonds; those being ill-used, as being yourselves also in the body" (xiii. 3); and again not to be distressed about such loss as man could inflict on them through their earthly goods (xiii. 5f.). That is, they had not themselves been imprisoned,<sup>1</sup> but had suffered in reputation and material prosperity; and the way in which their endurance of the latter kind of persecution is referred to, suggests that it was what might have come home to them very keenly, had they not in those early days been lifted above all thought of material loss. Thus we gather that pressure had been brought to bear by Jewish persecutors differently, according as men were rich and respected, or poor and despised. And it is men of the former class only that are addressed by our

<sup>1</sup> "Ye have not yet resisted unto blood, striving against sin" (= "the gainsaying of sinners"), is one of many clauses which gain fresh aptness through the limitation of the circle addressed in our epistle. Another is the injunction, "follow peace with all," which most confine to "peace within the Church" (A. S. Peake, in *Century Bible*, *ad loc.*), without being able to give a good reason for its form, where we should expect "with one another." On our theory it falls into line with "salute all the Saints" (xiii. 24)—those of other circles or house-churches than your own.

author. How true this distinction was to Jewish Christian experience generally, and how apt the well-to-do—in contrast to their poor brethren—were to be swayed by unbelieving and worldly public opinion, we see from the analogy of James' epistle (e.g. i. 9f., ii. 5, iv. 4-6). James seems also to imply that it was not "the poor," "rich in faith," who found the trials of their worldly lot daunting, but "the rich," who are bidden rather to rejoice that thus they learn lowliness (i. 10).

Hence we conclude that the relaxed faith and morals depicted in our Epistle marked but a limited class of persons in the Church of Cæsarea, those, namely, who by wealth and status were most exposed to the enervating forces of worldliness, with its bias towards conformity both in religion and morals. Among such, once the earlier and enthusiastic stage of belief had passed, there was lacking the spirit of cheerful endurance (*ὑπομονή*, Heb. x. 36, xii. 1; Jas. i. 3f.). Instead of this there existed the moral *inertia* which tends to relapse into old ways, when these are favoured by local public opinion and are enforced by its steady pressure along the levels of secondary motive. The Master's warning as to "how hardly shall they that have riches enter the Kingdom," was being verified. Such a view gives new point to several turns of thought or expression in the Epistle. Thus, in the description of Moses' faith, there are touches which go beyond the Biblical narrative, and which were presumably inserted because of their special relevance to the readers' conditions. He "chose rather to be evil entreated (cf. xiii. 3) with the people of God, than to have a temporary enjoyment of sin<sup>1</sup>; accounting the reproach of the Christ greater riches than the treasures of Egypt"

<sup>1</sup> Not "vicious self-indulgence, but those higher 'pleasures' of brilliant career and scope for his genius, innocent in themselves, but 'sin' for him, since duty imperiously called him to another service" (A. S. Peake, in *Century Bible*, *ad loc.*).

(xi. 25f.). One feels that the very strain in exegesis involved in the phrase "reproach of the Christ" in this passage has a meaning, being due in fact to the moral which the writer has in mind and wishes to bring home to his wealthy readers. The same special motive surely explains the reference to Esau as a "profane-minded" person (βέβηλος), in that he sold his birthright in the Promise for temporary physical relief (xii. 16). The like worldly-mindedness is an explicit topic of warning in xiii. 5f.

Against these were the men among whom had appeared the tendency to "desert the gathering of themselves together" (x. 25), a fact which had much to do with our author's writing in hot haste and with such solemn urgency. For, indeed, the appearance of drift in the circle most sensitive to the growing pressure of nationality was most ominous. Such men of wealth and position would also possess a mental culture above the average; and this would give real pertinence to the reproach as to their standing in need of teaching, when they ought to have been fit teachers of others (v. 11f.). Finally, we have here a full and sufficient explanation, first, of the fact that the writer should pen for his readers—and that at a time of spiritual crisis—an epistle so distinguished both in diction and in thought, an epistle which Jülicher describes as "far too learned for the average Christian"; and next, of the fact that he feels it wise, in closing, to refer to even such a discussion of his theme in deprecating terms, as though he too recognized its inadequacy and would defend himself on the ground that haste had forced him to be all too brief<sup>1</sup> (xiii. 22).

<sup>1</sup> The finished maturity of his thought—the very opposite of hurried improvisation—simply means that our author was writing on a theme on which he had long meditated, and about which he had often spoken, in more piecemeal fashion, at many an assembly for Christian instruction. He was now fusing together into fresh unity, under the force of an urgent emotion, materials already fashioned in his ministry πολυμερῶς καὶ πολυτρόπως.

In a word, the circle of readers addressed in the "high argument" of this great appeal, was the social and intellectual aristocracy of the Jewish Christians in Cæsarea.<sup>1</sup> In this light, the comparative smallness of their numbers can be recognized without making the Epistle seem disproportionate to the need or to the issues at stake. The moral influence of their example would be enormous in their own Cæsarea and even throughout Palestine. A body of natural leaders of opinion must be kept from "falling away," if any effort on the part of their distant friend and teacher can avail by any means. To this end he adds the cheering news that Timothy, a name probably loved and respected in Cæsarea, had just been acquitted of the charge which had brought Paul to death—so that their enemies were not all-powerful, after all. Nay, he hopes to have Timothy by his side, when he himself is able to start on the journey that is to restore him in person to his readers (xiii. 19, 23).

Such a conception of the situation contemplated in *Hebrews* had been floating in solution in my mind for some time past; but there was yet lacking the crystallizing formula, the secret of the special bond between the members forming the circle so far defined. How was it that the Epistle could reach just those for whom it was intended? To whom exactly would it be addressed on the outside cover, whether it ever had a formal greeting inside, before its present opening, or not? The conception of a

<sup>1</sup> It might seem, at first sight, as though the foregoing argument in favour of a special circle within a larger church of generally Judæo-Christian character had removed most, if not all, of the objections to Jerusalem as the home of those addressed in our epistle. But there remains one fatal objection. For in that case the Judaic character of the local church as a whole would be more marked than that of the special circle which could be addressed in an epistle so Greek in culture as well as in style. But the references to the "leaders" of the church in the last chapter imply the opposite. They were certainly not less, but more, liberal or Hellenistic in spirit than those specially addressed. This excludes Jerusalem, but not Cæsarea.



house-church, like that which frequented the house of Mary, Barnabas' own kinswoman, in Jerusalem, supplies the missing link and makes the situation realizable to the imagination.<sup>1</sup> Only here we have to imagine a rather uniformly aristocratic<sup>2</sup> house-church, drawn probably from the rich residential Jewish quarter of the city—a possibility for which the tone of James' Epistle touching "the rich" quite prepares the attentive mind.

A few further details may perhaps be gleaned from the closing paragraphs of the Epistle. Certain Italian Christians, after visiting Cæsarea on their way to or from Jerusalem, are likely to have brought the news which impelled Barnabas to write. Perhaps they had not met with the usual Christian hospitality from some of the members of the house-church in question (xiii. 2), and little by little had learned how things stood. One special element of danger in the situation, they discovered, lay in the fact that these persons of cooling faith and growing diplomatic

<sup>1</sup> How easy it is to overlook the simple solution, when it is not in terms of our own modern church life, is illustrated by the strangely inept remark of Jülicher (*Introduction*, p. 168, E.T.). "To interpret the *ἐκκλησίαν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ* as a separate assembly of this narrow circle [assumed by Zahn], is only possible if we assume a division of the collective community into parishes with settled boundaries." What of Romans xvi. 5 ff., esp. 10, 11, 14 f.?

<sup>2</sup> Have we not here the key to the difficult and much-debated phrase *ἐκπεριστατος ἀμαρτία*? Hitherto the form of the adjective has pointed one way, viz., to the passive signification, "well-surrounded"; while the context has been thought to demand the anomalous active sense, "close-surrounding" (see Alford *ad loc.*). On our theory etymology and context are at one in favouring "well-surrounded," in the sense of "well-supported," "well-patronized." The writer says in effect, "Seeing that strenuous loyalty to the higher call of faith is countenanced by the support of the mighty dead, you can afford to lay aside every hampering weight, and particularly the sin that has worldly patronage on its side," i.e., is commended by the approval of "good society." That sin is worldly conformity in religion, the sin to which Moses rose superior. "Yes, even the sin that has strong backing" (in public opinion), would be a true, if colloquial, rendering.

reserve were already out of sympathy with their leaders as a body,<sup>3</sup> and were disinclined to follow their counsels. Accordingly as soon as the news reached Barnabas in Italy, he felt constrained to throw all the weight of his authority into the scale represented by these leaders, who held fast by the more uncompromising traditions of the community as a whole (xiii. 7 f., 17). In so doing he was, on the one hand, conscious of the extreme delicacy of his task; for, should he fail to make his appeal quite convincing, the disaffected section was like the rather to esteem him disloyal to his own conscience and ancestral religion, and so reject his judgement altogether (xiii. 18, 22). On the other hand, he saw clearly that not an instant was to be lost in bringing some kind of aid to faith hard pressed and hesitant—so much so, that some had already ceased to assemble as Christians. That he did not straightway hurry to their side, as he wished to do (xiii. 19), must have been due to some very urgent duty on the spot. What this may have been no word of his reveals. But if our dating be correct, we may imagine that he had “words of exhortation” to speak in Italy itself to faith distressed by the hard problem of Paul’s death. As we have already argued, the place whence he wrote was not Rome itself (where Timothy probably had been and still was), but rather some seaport like Brundisium.

Finally, the theory has the merit of rendering a satisfactory account of a standing problem of the Epistle, the absence of any opening address. Here two alternatives present themselves. The writing may never have had any such address, as distinct from a mere direction on the outside. But the more probable view is that there was once

<sup>1</sup> Probably with some more than others. This seems the point of the words, “Salute *all* your leaders” in xiii. 24. Yet the leaders in general seem to have been united in a firmer attitude than that of those to whom the “word of exhortation” was addressed.

the usual address ending with *χαίρειν* (cf. Jas. i. 1), prefixed to the splendid opening *Πολυμερῶς κ.τ.λ.*, and that this mentioned the name of him in whose house the readers' gathering (*ἐπισυναγωγή*) was wont to take place. "To . . . and the church in his house, greeting," so it may have run.<sup>1</sup> Such an address, *from its very particular and restricted nature*,—so unlike the general character of the argument, which made the epistle singularly fitted for far wider use than that originally contemplated—would tend to fall away directly the work began to be copied for the benefit of others. The less of general significance there was in the address, the more surely it would disappear altogether in the process which made the Epistle quasi-catholic, as it is in our earliest MSS., viz., "To Hebrews." Had the original destination been more general, if it had been the whole church of some well-known city (and it would never have been written to an obscure one), then the address would not have disappeared any more than those of the various Pauline Epistles, or at least it would not have done so early enough to fail to leave behind any tradition<sup>2</sup> on the subject. The point may be illustrated from the partly analogous, and partly contrasted, case of the Epistle to the Romans. For there is a good deal of evidence, going back as far as Origen, which shows that "there were in circulation in ancient times a few copies of the Epistle from which all local references had been removed."<sup>3</sup> Both Epistles became "general" in form, as they were in substance. But whereas in the case of Romans there were, from the first,

<sup>1</sup> Or even, "Barnabas to . . .," etc. See below, next note.

<sup>2</sup> The tradition of Barnabas' authorship, which I have argued from Tertullian's language did exist, may possibly point to the existence for a time in the Roman Church of a copy with the original address; but no tradition as to its destination has come down to us even through the Roman Church.

<sup>3</sup> Sanday and Headlam, on Rom. i. 7; comp. Westcott and Hort, *Introduction*, "Notes on Select Readings," p. 108.

copies which preserved the original address, and a great church identified with the letter by its living tradition ; in the case of Hebrews, one at least, if not both, of these factors preservative of the original historical conditions, was on our theory absent. Here, then, as in other respects, such a theory<sup>1</sup> serves to clear up the mystery which is generally felt to hang over this great memorial of the later Apostolic Age, this witness to an interpretation of the Gospel of Christ not otherwise made explicit in its surviving literature.

VERNON BARTLET.

### *OUR LORD'S REFUTATION OF THE SADDUCEES.*

To fully grasp the force of our Lord's argument we have only to remember that He was a Jew speaking to Jews ; and that his argument was addressed to the Sadducees, who denied not only a bodily resurrection, but also any continued existence after death. It was, therefore, only necessary for Christ to show that Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were still in existence long after their death. Difficulties have been introduced into the exegesis and a simple and logical argument has been rendered obscure and doubtful by forgetting these simple rules and by endeavouring to make our Lord's argument prove more than it fairly does, and more than was required to confute His opponents.

The force of the reasoning was already fully grasped by Origen, and recently has been clearly stated by Professor

<sup>1</sup> The present writer trusts he will not be thought to be exaggerating the importance of his own views, if he expresses the earnest hope that some competent scholar will take the trouble to point out any fatal objections to them, if such there be. After a certain amount of thinking on given lines, one loses the full sense of much to which they may do less than justice ; and only a fresh mind can here help by more searching, while yet sympathetic, criticism.

Swete : " In this place God reveals Himself as standing in a real relation to men who were long dead. But the living God cannot be in relation with any who have ceased to exist ; therefore the patriarchs were still living in His sight at the time of the Exodus."

Indeed, the argument is so lucid and logical that Meyer is able to express it in the form of a syllogism.

Major premise : God is the God of the living and not of the dead.

Minor : He calls Himself the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Conclusion : Therefore Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are living and not dead.

The reading is absolutely unanswerable, and so the Sadducees found it. They could not dispute either of the premises, and thus were unable to avoid the conclusion.

It must, however, be noticed that the argument entirely depends on the fact that the time expressed in the minor premise is present and not past. If the time is changed, the conclusion is entirely altered.

Major premise : God is the God of the living and not of the dead.

Minor : He was at one time God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.

Conclusion : Therefore at that time Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob were still living and not yet dead.

The reasoning is quite correct, but, regarded as a refutation of the Sadducees, the argument altogether breaks down. It merely proves the earthly existence of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, but not that they were still alive when God spoke to Moses.

Unfortunately we cannot derive this present time from the tense employed ; for neither in the original Hebrew, nor in the LXX. of Exodus, nor in the Greek of St. Mark and St. Luke, nor in the Chaldee vernacular spoken by our Lord is

any verb employed at all. Accordingly such comments as those of Chrysostom and Theophylact, which make the argument depend on the use of the present tense—*οὐ γὰρ εἶπεν*, "Ἦμην, ἀλλ' εἰμί—must at once be set on one side.

It is none the less to be regretted that the knowledge of this fact has led commentators in general to abandon the attempt to base the argument on the time denoted by the sentence and to resort to more or less devious methods of establishing our Lord's position. Thus Professor Denney writes : " Jesus does not argue from the tenses, like a grammarian, but from the spiritual relations involved in the case. . . . The goodness and faithfulness of our Creator, the value of our human life to Him, it is there that the promise lies. This line of thought is most spiritual, but it would have been beyond the power of the Sadducees to think it out on the spur of the moment ; nor is it at all certain that they would have accepted it without cavil.

Pearson deduces the continued existence of the patriarchs from the fact that they did not receive the promises during their lifetime, and therefore must have obtained them later. It may, however, be doubted if the Sadducees would have been silenced by such reasoning. They would have replied that the promise to give the patriarchs " the land of Canaan, the land of their pilgrimage, wherein they were strangers," was fulfilled when the Israelites obtained possession of Palestine. Indeed, this view is actually taken in several passages of the Old Testament.

Most commentators think that the argument turns on the use of the word " God," but it is extremely difficult to see in what way the fact that Jehovah was the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob involves the immortality of these patriarchs. The phrase certainly suggests that their relation to God was peculiar, but that might well have been the case, even though it was limited to their lifetime. Moreover,

though it is true that the term "God" is relative, so is the term "Creator," and both words emphasize the unlikeness rather than the likeness between God and men. It would be inadmissible to argue that all men are immortal because God is so, or to assume that the present relation between Creator and creature will continue for ever. The phrase "I was the God of Abraham" can scarcely be said to assert anything about him at the present time.

Mr. Twistleton, realizing that such arguments are far from conclusive, is driven to dispute the validity of our Lord's reasoning: "Indeed, it must be deemed probable that the Sadducees, as they did not acknowledge the divine authority of Christ, denied even the logical validity of the inference, and argued that the expression that Jehovah was the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob did not necessarily mean more than that Jehovah had been the God of these patriarchs while they lived on earth, without conveying a suggestion, one way or another, as to whether they were or were not still living elsewhere." Considered as criticism of the arguments before him, these strictures are amply justified; but when we have reached the point of criticizing our Lord's reasoning, it is well to consider if we have properly understood it.

No verb was employed by our Lord, for no verb was needed. Our Lord was a Jew, and thought as a Jew, and was speaking to those who were also Jews. Whether He quoted the original Hebrew of the passage in Exodus, or cited it in the Aramaic vernacular, the sentence denoted present time to Him and His hearers, just as surely as the words "I *am* the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob" do to us. The only difference is, that in English the *presence* of some verb is required to make this clear, whereas in the Semitic languages the *absence* of any verb effected the same purpose. If the sense in-

tended had been "I *was* the God," it would have been necessary, either to employ the verb הָיָה or else to insert such a phrase as בִּימֵי קֶדֶם to indicate that the relation no longer existed. "I, the Preacher, King over Israel in Jerusalem," would mean, unless there was some assertion to the contrary, that he was still reigning, just as, "I, Nebuchadnezzar, King of Babylon," does. Accordingly in the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes the verb is inserted: "I, the Preacher, *was* King." A Jew would have as little thought of disputing our Lord's assumption as an Englishman would think of asserting that the sentence "I *am* the God of Abraham" could by any possibility refer to past time. But while our Lord's argument is convincing and unanswerable, we must be on our guard against distorting it by attempting to make it establish conclusions which do not legitimately follow from the premises. These premises certainly establish the continued existence of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but they do not necessarily prove that their bodies will rise again at the Last Day. Indeed there was no reason why Christ should complicate His argument by introducing the question of a future resurrection. We must not forget that the Sadducees denied not only the resurrection of the body but also the continued existence of the soul. On this point our authorities are so early and unanimous that there is no reasonable ground for disputing their testimony.

St. Luke<sup>1</sup> is quite clear: "The Sadducees say that there is no resurrection, neither angel,<sup>2</sup> nor spirit." Josephus<sup>3</sup> is equally definite: "The doctrine of the Sadducees is this. . . . That souls die with the bodies, nor do they regard the observation of anything but what the Law<sup>4</sup> enjoins

<sup>1</sup> Acts xxiii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Hofmann (*Der heil. Schrift N. T.*, viii. i. p. 484) notices that this gives especial point to the statement of our Lord ἰσάγγελοι γὰρ εἰσιν.

<sup>3</sup> *Ant.* xviii. 1, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Cornelius & Lapide makes the valuable suggestion that from a



them." And again: "The Sadducees<sup>1</sup> are those who compose the second order and take away fate entirely. . . . They take away also the belief of the immortal duration of the soul, and the punishments and rewards in Hades." These statements are confirmed by the Talmud<sup>2</sup>: "When the Sadducees fell into the error that there was only one world."

Accordingly, for their refutation, our Saviour only needed to show quite generally that the Law proved the continued existence of men after death. If we remember this limitation of the argument, the reasoning is clear and unassailable. But if we endeavour to deduce the resurrection of the body from the statement in Exodus, we make our Lord prove more than was required, and once more involve ourselves in doubtful arguments and uncertain deductions.

There is no need to specify the various methods by which our Lord's reasoning has been forced to establish the resurrection of the body. It may at once be said of all such deductions that, however plausible they may appear to their authors, they cannot be legitimately derived from the statement of God to Moses. Indeed it is one of the penalties of such exegesis that it tends to throw doubt on the continued existence of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. When God spoke to Moses, the resurrection of the patriarchs was not an actual fact, but only a possibility. Accordingly, if we make their life after death depend on their resurrection, we cannot argue that they were still alive at the time of the Exodus. Grotius, indeed, feels the force of this objection so strongly that he considers they were not actually, but only potentially, alive. "*Solutio objectionis tacitae. Atqui mortui tunc erant. Sane; sed vivunt*

mistaken explanation of this statement there arose the opinion that the Sadducees only accepted the Law as authoritative. Herzfeld thinks the Sadducees have been confused with the Samaritans.

<sup>1</sup> *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 8. 14.

<sup>2</sup> *Berachoth* 54a.

quoad Dei potentiam, quae potest mortuos vitae meliori reddere.”

Chrysostom equally speaks of their life as something still future. ὥσπερ γὰρ ὁ Ἀδάμ, εἰ καὶ ἔζη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἣ ἔφαγεν ἀπὸ τοῦ ξύλου, ἀπέθανε τῇ ἀποφάσει· οὕτω καὶ οὗτοι, εἰ καὶ ἐτεθνήσκεσαν, ἔζων τῇ ὑποσχέσει τῆς ἀναστάσεως. It was a promise of life rather than life itself.

In any case, if this were our Lord's meaning, the passage in Exodus would afford no proof that Abraham, Isaac and Jacob are still alive or that they any longer exist. Such explanations as these, which begin by making Christ's reasoning establish more than it fairly does, end by making it prove nothing at all.

But while we deny that our Lord's argument can by any ingenuity be made to prove the resurrection of the body, we realize that by life He meant no mere continued existence, but life in fellowship with God. An existence, removed from God's presence and outside His providence, would have been regarded both by Christ and His hearers, not as life but as death. Our Lord's reasoning shows conclusively that this cannot be the lot of the righteous. They are raised from Hades<sup>1</sup> and rescued from death. Their life is no joyless existence, but life in communion with God.

H. H. B. AYLES.

### THE PRESENCE OF CHRIST IN HIS CHURCH.

WHEN we speak of the presence of Christ it is well to avoid confusion of thought by asking ourselves, What is the sphere or department of being in which we at the moment conceive His presence to exist or operate? Is it the universe, or the Church, or the soul of man?

As the Eternal Word or Reason of God, Christ is immanent in nature: “In Him all things hold together”

<sup>1</sup> Contrast Job vii. 9, Isaiah xxvi. 14.

(Col. i. 17); He "upholds all things by the word of His power" (Heb. i. 3). This divine universal influence is a function that naturally arises out of His eternal relation to God the Father, and cannot be thought to have been diminished by the Incarnation, since the exaltation of man's nature which was effected by the Word becoming flesh does not lower the nature of God with which it has been indissolubly united: nay, if it be not too bold to say so, the Divine Nature has gained, or rather seems to have gained, in sympathy.

Again, we speak of the presence of Christ in the soul of man, whereby that which is of "the earth, earthy," becomes "of heaven, heavenly." This presence is a principle of new life, in virtue of which Christ is in a man and a man is in Christ, so that a Christian can say, "I live; and yet no longer I, but Christ liveth in me" (Gal. ii. 20). It is in this connexion that the question arises as to the significance of sacraments. Into that question we do not propose now to enter. But one cannot help remarking, in passing, that since sacraments are the ordinary means whereby the incorporation of man with Christ is accomplished, it is much to be regretted that controversy about the sacraments has had a tendency to confuse men's minds, so that while some would locate the presence of Christ in the sacraments, others, as mistakenly, deny that they are in any way means conditional to the presence of Christ in the soul of man.

Disregarding for the present the cosmos of the universe and the microcosm of the individual human unit, I desire in this article to discuss some thoughts which are suggested by the presence of Christ in His Church. It will be convenient to limit ourselves to the considerations which naturally arise out of His own promise in St. Matthew xviii. 20, "Where two or three are gathered together in My name, there am I in the midst of them."

In these days of minute Gospel analysis some perhaps

may be found to question the real relevancy of these words to the matter in hand ; and that on two grounds. In the first place, it will be urged, that St. Matthew, alone of the Evangelists, puts the word *church* into our Lord's mouth : here, " Tell it unto the Church : and if he refuse to hear the Church, etc.," and in chap. xvi. 18, " Upon this rock I will build my Church " ; and that this fact is merely an illustration of the comparatively late date at which he wrote, when the Christian Church was regularly organized, and of an alleged tendency to edit Christ's words so as to accommodate them to later ecclesiastical needs. Some slight support for this view may be sought in the parallel to St. Matthew xviii. 20, which has been found in one of the Sayings of Jesus, discovered in 1897 by Messrs. Grenfell and Hunt, at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt. The beginning of this particular saying is partly mutilated, but we need not hesitate to accept the restoration of the text as given in Mr. Vernon Bartlet's translation (*Contemporary Review*, Jan. 1905) : " Jesus saith, Wherever there are [two, they are not without] God, and [wherever] there is one alone, [I say], I am with him. Raise the stone, and there shalt thou find me, cleave the log, and there am I."

In all probability it will be found that the last clause is a mystical or fanciful allusion to Habakkuk ii. 11, " The stone shall cry out of the wall, and the beam out of the timber shall answer it." Διότι λίθος ἐκ τοίχου βοηθήσεται, καὶ κάρθαρος ἐκ ξύλου φθέγγεται αὐτά.<sup>1</sup> The clause then would be a declaration of the universal presence of life, even under every stone and in every log, and therefore the omnipresence, the immanence in nature, of Christ, by whom every living thing came into being. If this be so, the first clause,

<sup>1</sup> Here, as elsewhere in the Old Testament, the word ξύλον was thought by some of the fathers to refer to the cross on which Jesus was crucified, and consequently the word κάρθαρος, scarabaeus, beetle, was taken to be a title of reproach applied to Him. So Gregory the Great, *Moralia*, cap xxi.

The point is not noticed by Cyril Alex. in his Commentary.

"Wherever there are two they are not without God, and wherever there is one alone, I say, I am with him," would similarly refer to the presence of Christ, not with His Church, but with every rational being.

If any one should imagine that such was the original meaning of St. Matthew xviii. 20, it is sufficient to reply that inasmuch as in the providence of God the words have been committed to the Church in a certain context, it is plainly His will that the interpretation which they bear in that context should be their lawful interpretation, though possibly not their only one.

It is perhaps significant that the Gospel which alone contains these words opens and closes with declarations of the presence of Christ with His Church. In the birth of the Messiah the Evangelist sees the complete realization of the promise given through Isaiah, "They shall call His name Immanuel; which is, being interpreted, God with us," And St. Matthew alone records the assurance of the ascending Saviour, "Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world."

It will be observed that in the verse under consideration the promise of Christ's presence is conditional. It is not, "Where two or three are gathered together," but, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name," that Christ says He is, or will be, with them. His presence is assured, not to any chance assembly of men, but to those "who come together . . . with the mind directed unto, having regard unto, His name" (Thayer).

And so this promise is most suitably called to mind at the close of Morning and Evening Prayer in the Anglican Use: "Almighty God, who . . . dost promise, that when two or three are gathered together in Thy name, Thou wilt grant their requests." It would be hypercritical to call this reference a misquotation; for although it subordinates, in the practical English way, the giving of worship to the

receiving of benefits, yet the verse which immediately precedes that alluded to undoubtedly connects the presence of Christ in Christian assemblies with answers to prayer. "Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of My Father which is in heaven. For where two or three, etc."

Once more let us look at the context. The verse preceding that just quoted deals with the disciplinary power of the Church. Our Lord is giving rules for a man's conduct when "his brother sins against him." He concludes by saying, "If he refuse to hear the Church also [which has been appealed to], let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican. Verily I say unto you, What things soever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven : and what things soever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." It is not immediately obvious that there is any connexion between this promised future ratification of Church disciplinary regulations and the promised presence of Christ in His Church ; but we are warranted in making the one depend on the other by observing that in actual practice the apostolic Church so connected them. When St. Paul is passing sentence on the Corinthian offender he says, "I verily being absent in body but present in spirit, have already, as though I were present, judged him that hath so wrought this thing, *in the name of our Lord Jesus, ye being gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus*, to deliver such a one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh" (1 Cor. v. 3-5). It would be scarcely accurate to say that the words which I have italicized are an allusion to St. Matthew xviii. 18, 20, but they certainly prove that it is in accordance with the mind of the apostolic Church to connect the subject matter of the two verses ; so that we may say that the binding and loosing power of the Church, which from the context

seems to refer to the exercise of discipline, is operative when exercised by a body gathered together in Christ's name, and consequently assured of His assenting presence. This is another way of presenting the familiar truth that the Church is the extension of the Incarnation, as being the Body of Christ. We need, however, to be reminded of the qualifying words, "In My name." Christ acts on the world through the Church, but only that which the Church does truly "in Christ's name" can be said to be the action of Christ.

We find, then, that from the context alone of this passage we may conclude that the presence of Christ in His Church is (1) a condition on which united prayer is answered, and (2) the basis and rationale of Church authority in matters of discipline. Let us examine the first of these points a little more closely.

To a man who believes in a personal God, that is, a Supreme Being who has fatherly personal relations with the creatures He has made, prayer not only presents no obvious difficulties, but is the natural and spontaneous expression of desires the realization of which he feels that he cannot accomplish by his own unaided strength. The analogy between the relations of man to God to those of a child to his father makes it easy to understand that trust in the Father of all, and the maintenance of brotherly relations to the other members of the Family, are both necessary if we would expect our prayers to be answered. We might have guessed as much even if it had not been declared by our Lord: "I say unto you, All things whatsoever ye pray and ask for, believe that ye have received them, and ye shall have them. And whensoever ye stand praying, forgive, if ye have aught against any one; that your Father also which is in Heaven may forgive you your trespasses" (St. Mark xi. 24, 25).

Faith and charity, then, in the individual who prays, are

a necessary precondition to his prayer being in any way answered ; but when some or all of the children make request to their Father it stands to reason that they must be agreed among themselves, there must be a joint consent in the case of common needs.

“One the strain the lips of thousands,  
Lift as from the heart of one.”

Whole-heartedness is as necessary in prayer as in praise ; and it may be that it is just the absence of this whole-heartedness in many, perhaps the majority, of those who come together, professedly in Christ's name, that explains why it is that the “common supplications” of their lips remain unanswered.

We are quick enough to note, and to act on, half-heartedness, listlessness and apathy in those who ask us for anything. We cannot suppose that God is more easily deceived than we. And yet, is it not true, that in our public intercessions we do not, speaking generally, put a twentieth part of the will power into the petitions that we do into those we make in our private devotions for objects and persons that are really dear to us ?

Once more, the promised presence of Christ where two or three are gathered together in His name has a significance greater, if possible, than the thought of Him, as the elder brother of us, God's children, acting as a prevailing intercessor at the throne of grace, or as presiding in the councils of His Church. The words, “There am I in the midst of them,” surely ought to produce in our minds, as we engage in public worship, something of the gladness and awe which was felt by the first disciples when the risen and glorified “Jesus came and stood in the midst, and said unto them, ‘Peace be unto you’” (St. John xx. 19). Worship is the most natural, as it is the sublimest, attitude of a Christian in the realized objective spiritual presence of



Christ; worship which has a gladness unknown to the self-aborring prostration of a Job before his Creator, gladness of fellowship and high communion solemnized by the knowledge that He whom we greet is our Lord and our God.

It is not perhaps too much to say that noble and necessary as Protestantism is it has failed to impress on the great mass of Protestants the thought of worship as the primary object of "our assembling of ourselves together." I am, of course, not speaking of the theory of worship as set forth in authorized Protestant formularies, nor am I suggesting that neglect of worship is a necessary consequence of Protestantism; but it cannot be denied that in this particular point we are suffering from an excessive and prolonged reaction from Romanism. We do well to guard ourselves against the Roman error that localizes and materializes the presence of Christ; but Rationalism which takes cognizance only of that which the eye of sense can perceive is at least an equally dangerous enemy to the spiritual life.

The assured fact that "where two or three are gathered together in Christ's name, He is in the midst of them," is one of which we often need to remind ourselves. Even those who "take delight in approaching God," those "in whose heart are the highways to Zion," are sometimes tempted to regard services at which a very few are present—the daily services in some city church, the Sunday services in a thinly-peopled country parish—as matters of small importance. While such miserable congregations, as they are called, are a matter for scorn and derision to the thoughtless and careless, it too often happens that persons who are usually godly in their thoughts speak and act as though a slovenliness which would not be tolerated where there are many worshippers is excusable where there are only a very few. Could we, if we paused to think, dare to speak slightingly of those times and places where, if we believe our Lord, His presence is granted in a special way?

This fact alone surely justifies the maintenance, where possible, of a badly-attended service, and dignifies the assembling together of the poorest and most uneducated. It is scarcely necessary to note what a stimulus to hearty and reverent co-operation in prayer and praise this sublime thought can supply to all who are privileged to share in that which is the loftiest attainment of man, the recognition of his Creator.

“Christ! in Thy Name alone  
As sons of God we come,  
Thou mak’st us partners of Thine own,  
And Heaven is now our home.

Through Thee we come, nor now  
Without the veil we stand,  
But boldly enter in where Thou  
Art set at God’s right hand.

Then we in faith draw nigh  
Where Saints and Angels meet;  
Come to the throne of the Most High,  
And find a mercy-seat.”

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

## *THE ETHICAL TEACHING OF ST. PAUL.*

### (6) THE ETHICS OF CONTROVERSY.

THERE is a remarkable disparity, the explanation of which is not very apparent, between the place which controversy holds in the pages of the New Testament and the attention given to it in our handbooks of Christian Ethics. Though, as will presently be shown, we owe the very form in which a large part of the New Testament has come down to us to the controversies in which St. Paul was called to bear a leading part, and though Christ Himself was engaged in almost unceasing strife with His opponents, the need and the temper of controversy are questions concerning which our ethical text-books are almost wholly silent. In such

a survey, however, as is being attempted in these papers it is impossible to ignore St. Paul the controversialist; from the ethics of the intellect we turn, therefore, to the ethics of controversy.

## I.

In Thomas Fuller's *Holy and Profane States* "the Controversial Divine" has a place given him side by side with "the Good Judge," "the Good Physician," and "the Faithful Minister." It is to be feared, however, that in our own day controversy has fallen into evil repute. Most of us would probably hesitate to accord to the Christian controversialist equal rank with the Christian teacher or evangelist. We scarcely expect in him those rarer graces and virtues which are the finest bloom of the Christian spirit. Nor is it difficult to understand how this has come about. When we remember the pettiness and triviality of the causes for which men have fought, the fierce and undying animosities which their controversies have kindled, the futility and barrenness of their results, is it any marvel that, in the eyes of many, controversy has come to be of no more worth than the chattering of sparrows, or the bickerings of kites and crows? Other reasons less worthy have contributed to the same end. The love of ease, the craven fear of conflict, the weakened regard for the sacredness of truth, the impatient scepticism which doubts even the attainability of truth, the moral cynicism with its shameless cry, "Nothing is certain and nothing matters"—these things also have had their influence in turning men aside from the paths of controversy.

Nevertheless, however badly controversialists may sometimes have served the cause of truth, we ought not to forget that we are all debtors to the controversies of the past. Is it possible, e.g., to exaggerate the significance of those momentous discussions in the early Church

concerning the Person of our Lord which were ultimately closed by the adoption of the Creed which now for nearly sixteen centuries has remained the expression of the faith of practically the whole Christian Church? In his story of the closing days of Thomas Carlyle's life, Mr. Froude says: "In speaking of Gibbon's work to me he made one remark which is worth recording. In earlier years he had spoken contemptuously of the Athanasian controversy, of the Christian world torn in pieces over a diphthong, and he would ring the changes in broad Annandale on the Homoousion and the Homoiousion. He told me now that he perceived Christianity itself to have been at stake. If the Arians had won, it would have dwindled away into a legend."<sup>1</sup> Or take the history of the Reformation. Every one knows with what wild strife, with what tumult and bloodshed, that great change was accomplished. But if Erasmus and Luther and Calvin had made no protest, if they had shut their eyes and stopped their ears, and cried "peace, peace," when there was no peace, where would have been the great inheritance of freedom upon which, at no price of blood and tears of ours, we have entered? The same may be said of the interminable religious controversies of Scotland. No one, indeed, will deny that Scotland has been plagued with controversies which she might and ought to have been spared; but, on the other hand, does any one who has not suffered ecclesiastical prejudice to put out the eyes of his understanding suppose that Knox and Melville and the Men of the Covenant and the leaders of the Disruption were only stiff and obstinate men, possessed by the devil of contradictiousness, and not rather the champions of great and worthy principles on which mighty issues hung, alike for themselves, their country, and the world?

But it is to the New Testament itself we turn for the

<sup>1</sup> *Carlyle's Life in London*, vol. ii. p. 494.

most striking evidence of our indebtedness to the controversies of the past. Few Christian readers perhaps realize how large a portion of that book we owe in the wisdom of God to the conflicts in which from time to time Christ and His Apostles were engaged. So far as Christ's life is concerned it may be sufficient to mention one fact. In Dr. Stalker's well-known volume, *Imago Christi*, he tells us that had it been possible for him to print in full the evidence from the Gospels of the conduct of Jesus in the different departments of life of which his book treats, the bulkiest of all these bodies of evidence would have been the appendix to the chapter, "Christ as a Controversialist."<sup>1</sup> The Apostle John is not usually associated in men's minds with controversy and the strife of tongues; yet his exhortations to charity and brotherly love are not more repeated and emphatic than is his condemnation of the false teachers over against whose false doctrine he sets the truth as it had been revealed to him by and concerning Jesus Christ. And the same is true of St. Paul. "Certain men came down from Judæa and taught the brethren, saying, Except ye be circumcised after the custom of Moses, ye cannot be saved. And when Paul and Barnabas had no small dissension and questioning with them, the brethren appointed that Paul and Barnabas, and certain other of them, should go up to Jerusalem unto the apostles and elders about this question."<sup>2</sup> Here was the beginning of a warfare from which for many weary years the Apostle could obtain no discharge. The battle of spiritual freedom had to be fought out, not only in Jerusalem, but on the mission field, and among his own converts. Some of the letters of this period, especially that to the Galatians, read like keen, controversial pamphlets, And what perhaps hurt him most of all, the Apostle had to turn his sword against

<sup>1</sup> *Imago Christi*, p. 285.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xv. 1, 2.

some who should have been his comrades-in-arms.<sup>1</sup> In all its essentials St. Paul's gospel would doubtless have been the same whatever the circumstances under which it had been given to the world ; it is none the less a fact that the particular form in which it has come to us was determined in no small degree by the character of the conflict into which he was driven. How momentous that conflict was it is not necessary now to explain. Suffice it to say that if those who taught, saying, "Except ye be circumcised ye cannot be saved," had won the day—and, speaking after the manner of men, but for the resolute resistance of St. Paul they would have won—Christianity would have been strangled in its cradle.

Facts like these have not lost their significance for us to-day. If the faith "once for all delivered unto the saints" is to be kept, it must be fought for. *Every one with one of his hands wrought in the work and with the other held his weapon ; and the builders every one had his sword girded by his side and so builded ; and the sword as well as the trowel is needed still.* This question of controversy is one of those matters in which, with the best intentions in the world—in large measure indeed because of our good intentions—it is very easy to fall a victim to mistaken ideas. There are many people, it has been truly said, who think that the kingdom of heaven means first a quiet life and the cultivation of friendly feeling all round.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gal. ii. 11 seq.

<sup>2</sup> P. T. Forsyth's *Rome, Reform, and Reaction*, p. 15, where will be found some very sensible and timely comments on the need of controversy in the present day. "One reason," says Dr. Forsyth, "why controversy is deprecated at present is that sympathy has been growing at the expense of principle. Our philanthropic energies have, for the time, submerged our energies of righteousness. I do not say so in a grudging spirit. We move forward with one foot at a time. For the present it is the turn of the heart side ; but the time is far spent, and it grows needful that, if we are to keep from falling, there should be a step by the other foot and a movement of the other side. . . . There is a worse thing than the temper and abuse of controversy, and that is the mawkish sweetness and maudlin

It is a grievous misunderstanding. "The kingdom of God is righteousness and peace and joy in the Holy Ghost"; but it is righteousness first, and the price of righteousness in a world like ours is conflict. The Christian Church is much more than a Sister of Charity; she has not merely to sit by sick-beds, and play the Lady Bountiful to poor people, and rush between armies on the field of battle and reconcile the combatants by reminding them of their brotherhood<sup>1</sup>; the Church is called to be a warrior of God; she must take her part "in the strife of Truth with Falsehood, for the good or evil side." Like her Lord, she too must often bring not peace but a sword.<sup>2</sup> There is, as we all know, a zeal which is not according to knowledge, and is still less according to love, which does not care for peace as peace ought always to be cared for, whose hand flies to the sword-hilt all too readily. But there is a spirit more to be feared, more to be watched and prayed against even than this, and that is the moral indifferentism which is too careless to distinguish truth from error, or right from wrong, and will tolerate anything, if only it may be left undisturbed in its own selfish peace. By all means let us seek peace; but let us not forget that, as Ruskin has told us, peace may be sought in two ways:

piety of the people who are everybody's brothers and can stand up to none." From a very different point of view Mr. H. G. Wells also notes "the absence of good controversy" as "one of the least satisfactory features of the intellectual atmosphere of the present time." "A great number of people are expressing conflicting opinions upon all sorts of things, but there is a quite remarkable shirking of plain issues of debate. There is no answering back. There is much indirect answering, depreciation of the adversary, attempts to limit his publicity, restatements of the opposing opinion in a new way, but no conflict in the lists." (*Anticipations*, pop. ed., p. 105).

<sup>1</sup> See *Ecce Homo*, pop. ed., p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. Sir John Eliot's great speech during the Parliament of 1629: "There is a ceremony used in the eastern churches of standing at the repetition of the Creed to testify their purpose to maintain it, and as some had it, not only with their bodies upright but with their swords drawn. Give me leave to call that a custom very commendable."

"One way is as Gideon sought it, when he built his altar in Ophrah, naming it 'God send peace,' yet sought this peace that he loved as he was ordered to seek it, and the peace was sent in God's way:—'the country was in quietness forty years in the days of Gideon.' And the other way of seeking peace is as Menahem sought it, when he gave the King of Assyria a thousand talents of silver, that 'his hand might be with him.' That is, you may either win your peace, or buy it: win it, by resistance to evil—buy it, by compromise with evil. You may buy your peace, with silenced consciences; you may buy it, with broken vows,—buy it, with lying words; buy it, with base connivances,—buy it, with the blood of the slain, and the cry of the captive, and the silence of lost souls." <sup>1</sup> And that is not peace; it is death.

## II.

But urgent as may be the call to controversy, it can never be more urgent than the call to take heed what manner of controversialists we are. We turn, therefore, in the second part of this paper to note (still under the guidance of St. Paul) some of the perils which beset the controversial temper.

First among these is that unlovely spirit of contentiousness which delights in strife, not for the truth's sake, but only for its own sake. Now whatever may be the worth of honest, earnest controversy, this is sheer pugilism, and is no more deserving of respect than the spirit of the prize-fighter. Every child knows Gulliver's story of the Big-Endians and the Small-Endians and their barren strife; the pity of it is these noisy disputants have found their way into the Christian Church and have filled its quiet air with their unseemly clamour. It is to this unhappy temper we owe most of those miserable controversies about the straws

<sup>1</sup> *The Two Paths*, p. 244.



and sticks and dust of the floor that have been the bane of Christendom. *Disputandi pruritus fit Ecclesiarum scabies*.<sup>1</sup> The caustic saying of a college don that the discussion whether the planets are inhabited was one eminently suited for theology because no evidence was available on either side of the question, was a not undeserved satire on the tendency from which the Church has never been wholly free, to waste its strength in ignorant and foolish questionings which do indeed gender strifes, but which, because they are remote from life and fact, do nothing else. The truth of these things no one knew better than did St. Paul himself, and his Epistles abound with warnings on this very matter. "If any man," he wrote to the disputatious Corinthians,<sup>2</sup> "seemeth [or, is minded to be] contentious (*φιλόνεικος*), we have no such custom, neither the churches of God." A bishop, he tells Timothy—it is in the Pastoral Epistles that most of the relevant passages appear—must be "not contentious" (*ἀμαχος*)<sup>3</sup>; and in the letter to Titus the injunction is extended to all sorts and conditions of men.<sup>4</sup> Elsewhere, he speaks of those who are "puffed up, knowing nothing, but doting about questionings and disputes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, wranglings of men corrupt in mind and bereft of the truth";<sup>5</sup> and in the last letter which we have from

<sup>1</sup> From the inscription which Sir Henry Wotton directed to be placed on the slab which marks his grave:

Hic jacet hujus sententiae primus author.

*Disputandi pruritus fit Ecclesiarum scabies.*

Nomen alias quaere.

(Here lies the original author of the saying, The itch for controversy is the scab of the Church. Seek his name elsewhere.)

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xi. 16. "The disputatiousness of the Corinthians ran into everything—a woman's shawl or the merits of the Arch-apostles!" (G.G. Findlay, *1 Corinthians, Expositor's Greek Testament*, p. 876.)

<sup>3</sup> 1 Tim. iii. 8.

<sup>4</sup> Titus iii. 2.

<sup>5</sup> 1 Tim. vi. 4-5. On the striking phrase *νοσῶν περὶ ζητήσεως* see (sub *νοσέω*) Grimm's *Lexicon*: "*περὶ τι*, to be taken with such an interest in a thing as amounts to a disease, to have a morbid fondness for."

his pen he first bids Timothy charge them over whom he is set in the Lord, "that they strive not about words, to no profit, to the subverting of them that hear," and then to take heed likewise to himself: "Shun profane babblings. . . . Foolish and ignorant questionings refuse, knowing that they gender strifes. And the servant of the Lord must not strive."<sup>1</sup>

But worse even than the spirit of contentiousness which controversy so often breeds, are the loss of temper, the misrepresentation, the imputation of evil motives, of which controversialists are so often guilty. Reading the history of some of the controversies of the past, and not least its religious controversies, and observing the manners of some of the controversialists, one is tempted to wish for the presence of some high official, armed with authority, like the referee at a football match, to order off the field any one who deliberately violates the rules of the contest. Perhaps one of the worst illustrations of the depths of malignity to which the controversial temper can descend is afforded by the glimpses we get in St. Paul's Epistles, and especially in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, of the treatment meted out to him by his Judaizing opponents. When he changed his plans "they called him a weather-cock, a Yes-and-No man, who said now one thing and now the opposite, who said both at once and with equal emphasis, who had his own interests in view in his fickleness, and whose word, to speak plainly, could never be depended upon."<sup>2</sup> His speech, they said, was rude, and his bodily presence weak; he might use big, swelling

<sup>1</sup> 2 Tim. ii. 14, 16, 23, 24. I have not included the reference to the "doubtful disputations" of Romans xiv. 1, since that phrase hardly conveys the Apostle's idea. The meaning of his injunction seems to be, "Him that is weak in faith receive ye, but *not to pass judgments on his thoughts*."

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. i. 18, 19. See Denney's *Second Epistle to the Corinthians, Expositor's Bible*, p. 37.

words at a distance, but let him come among them and they would find him meek enough.<sup>1</sup> They even dared to charge him with mercenary motives, and to suggest that he was making a good thing for himself out of the collection about which he was so anxious; and then with that inconsistency into which the tongue of the backbiter so readily slips they twisted his innocent refusal to accept support from the Corinthians into an acknowledgment that after all he was but an interloper whose uneasy conscience would not let him claim the maintenance which was every true apostle's right.<sup>2</sup>

This is bad enough, but it is probably not worse than much that has happened since in the field of religious controversy; and the strange thing is that good men have often been the worst offenders. When Tertullian denounces those who differ from him on baptism as vipers and monsters,<sup>3</sup> something must be allowed for the fierceness of his hot African blood; but when we hear men like Samuel Rutherford, and Richard Baxter, and the author of "Rock of Ages," assailing Christian opponents with the violence of an angry fish-wife, what can we say?<sup>4</sup> There is no need to dwell upon the ugly facts, but the moral of them is plain: controversy is necessary, but not all men are called, because not all men are fit, to wield its weapons. To use another figure, controversy is a strong and heady wine of which most men do well to drink but sparingly. And if when a man enters into debate he begins to lose his

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. x. 1-10; xi. 6.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. xi. 7-9; xii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Farrar's *Lives of the Fathers*, vol. i. p. 169.

<sup>4</sup> On Rutherford as a controversialist see some admirable remarks by Mr. Taylor Innes, whose lecture in the *Evangelical Succession* series is perhaps the most illuminating estimate of Rutherford we possess. Of Toplady it is unnecessary to speak. If I were to transcribe here the language which he used of Wesley, readers who were not already familiar with the facts would scarcely credit their own eyes. (See Tyerman's *Life and Times of John Wesley*.)

temper, or to misrepresent his adversary's case, or to impute to him unworthy motives, then the field of controversy is no place for him. We may be on the side of truth, but if we go into the battle with poisoned arrows in our quiver, we are the enemies of God and of all righteousness.

Prefixed to one of John Wesley's early controversial publications is a brief address "to the reader" which sums up so admirably the true spirit of the Christian controversialist that I venture to reproduce it almost in full: "This is the first time I have appeared in controversy, properly so called. I now tread an untried path 'with fear and trembling'; fear, not of my adversary, but of myself. I fear my own spirit, lest I 'fall where many mightier have been slain.' I never knew one man (or but one) write controversy with what I thought a right spirit. Every disputant seems to think (as every soldier) that he may hurt his opponent as much as he can; nay, that he ought to do his worst to him, or he cannot make the best of his own cause. But ought these things to be so? Ought we not to love our neighbour as ourselves? And does a man cease to be our neighbour because he is of a different opinion; nay, and declare himself so to be? Ought we not, for all this, to do to him as we would he should do to us? But do we ourselves love to be exposed, or set in the worst light? Would we willingly be treated with contempt? If not, why do we treat others thus? And yet who scruples it? Who does not hit every blow he can, however foreign to the merits of the cause? Who, in controversy, casts the mantle of love over the nakedness of his brother? Who keeps steadily and uniformly to the question, without ever striking at the person? Who shows, in every sentence, that he loves his brother only less than the truth? I have made a little faint essay towards this. I have a brother who is as my own soul. My desire is, in

every word I say, to look upon Mr. — as in his place; and to speak no tittle concerning the one in any other spirit than I would speak concerning the other. But whether I have attained this or no, I know not; for my heart is 'deceitful and desperately wicked.' If I have spoken anything in another spirit, I pray God it may not be laid to my charge; and that it may not condemn me in that day when the secrets of all hearts shall be made manifest! Meanwhile, my heart's desire and prayer to God is, that both I, and all who think it their duty to oppose me, may 'put on bowels of mercies, kindness, humbleness of mind, meekness, long-suffering; forbearing one another, and forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven us.'"<sup>1</sup> When a man is able to bear himself thus he may plunge without fear into the thickest of the strife; but God will have no man to fight the battles of His faith who cannot fight with clean hands. Is it too much to hope that at last the time is really at hand when, as Dean Church says, even our most serious controversies, even our great and apparently hopeless controversy with Rome, may be carried on as if in the presence and under the full knowledge and judgment of the Lord of truth and charity?<sup>2</sup>

### III.

One point still remains to be considered. It may be urged that St. Paul himself is not a safe guide in matters of controversy; that, e.g., in his controversial use of the Old Testament, and especially in the tone of intellectual intolerance into which he occasionally suffers himself to be betrayed, he has set us an example which we should do well not to follow.

The Apostle's use of the Old Testament raises the whole

<sup>1</sup> Wesley's *Works*, vol. viii. p. 859.

<sup>2</sup> *Life and Letters*, p. 801.

question of the apostolic interpretation of the Hebrew Scriptures—a subject obviously much too large for discussion here. It may at once be admitted that St. Paul's methods are not those of modern exegesis. No theologian to-day would for a moment dream of fortifying his conclusions by heaping together a number of "proof texts" in the fashion, e.g., we find in Romans iii. 10–18. Not unfrequently Old Testament quotations are made with an entire disregard of their original context, and in some cases even in a sense exactly opposite to that which they originally possessed.<sup>1</sup> But we have no right, therefore, to conclude that St. Paul was a controversialist without a conscience. He had been trained as a Rabbi; it was inevitable that he should sometimes make use of Rabbinical methods. That these are obsolete to-day is only another way of saying that the science of interpretation, like its sister sciences, is progressive. To blame St. Paul because his literary methods were those of the first century and not those of the twentieth, would be as unreasonable as to criticize Themistocles because he did not adopt modern naval tactics at the battle of Salamis. In saying this, however, it must be borne in mind that the number of Old Testament quotations to which the foregoing remarks apply is relatively small. In the majority of instances "the texts are used in a sense corresponding to their Old Testament meaning."<sup>2</sup> Further, with very rare exceptions (of which Galatians iv. 22 seq. is the most conspicuous example) St. Paul abstains from those allegorical methods of interpretation which, at a later period, were carried to such a foolish and perilous extreme.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See a valuable note on "St. Paul's Use of the Old Testament" in Sanday and Headlam's *Romans*, p. 802.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 808.

<sup>3</sup> "The sober and reasonable use of the Old Testament in the New forms a striking and instructive contrast to the arbitrary allegorical system of interpretation which is to be found in contemporary Jewish writings, such as those of the Alexandrian Philo, or in the earliest post-

Lastly, and most important of all, whatever may be said of the Apostle's interpretation of individual passages, his interpretation of the Old Testament as a whole stands in need of no justification. It triumphed over Judaism, and it remains a living word still, because it saw and seized upon the true spiritual significance of the Hebrew story. *Ye search the Scriptures . . . and ye will not come to Me*: that was the tragedy of Judaism; that is why it still wanders in the desert. *These are they*, the Apostle saw and said, *which bear witness of Him*, and so seeing and saying, entered into the Promised Land.

When St. Paul is charged with intellectual intolerance it is usually the twice repeated anathema, uttered against those who preach any other gospel than that which he preached, which his critics have in mind.<sup>1</sup> But it is surely unfair to rest a charge so serious upon evidence so scanty. We must judge St. Paul as we should expect to be judged ourselves, by the testimony of his whole life. And when we remember the unwillingness to lord it over his converts' faith,<sup>2</sup> his deference in putting forward his own judgment on a difficult matter,<sup>3</sup> his generous and ungrudging recognition of the ministry of men whose names were used as rallying cries against himself,<sup>4</sup> his sincere rejoicing that Christ was preached "even of envy and strife,"<sup>5</sup> we must allow that if, as Sabatier says,<sup>6</sup> St. Paul's intellectual temperament was "naturally intolerant," grace had wrought a wondrous change. Concerning the anathema—the emphasis of which is unmistakable—two things should be

apostolic Christian writings, such as the Epistle to Barnabas." (A. F. Kirkpatrick's *Divine Library of the Old Testament*, p. 115.)

<sup>1</sup> Gal. i. 8-9; cp. also Rom. xvi. 17, 1 Tim. i. 3, vi. 8.

<sup>2</sup> 2 Cor. i. 24.

<sup>3</sup> 1 Cor. vii. 12, 25, 40.

<sup>4</sup> 1 Cor. iii. 22.

<sup>5</sup> Phil. i. 15-18.

<sup>6</sup> *The Apostle Paul*, p. 54.

kept in mind. In the first place, the Apostle is not speaking thus in defence of his own private opinions, but in the full consciousness of his Divine appointment as a guardian and trustee of God's truth. Further, St. Paul was not one of those to whom the whole duty of man consists in keeping an open mind. Some questions there are which all earnest, right-thinking men regard as closed, and which they rightly refuse to re-open. We may call St. Paul intolerant if we choose, but it is with the intolerance which every good man must show on occasion. Have we not all convictions which admit of no questioning, which it would be treason to our deepest selves even to discuss? If any man dare to assail them, we shall answer him not with arguments but with anathemas. There is an intolerance which is set on fire of hell; there is also an intolerance which is but the reflected glow of the Divine passion against all untruth and iniquity.<sup>1</sup>

GEORGE JACKSON.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Denney has an admirable note on Gal. i. 8-9: "I cannot agree with those who disparage this, or affect to forgive it, as the unhappy beginning of religious intolerance. Neither the Old Testament nor the New Testament has any conception of a religion without this intolerance. The first commandment is, 'Thou shalt have none other gods besides Me,' and that is the foundation of all true religion. As there is only one God, so there can only be one Gospel. If God has really done something in Christ on which the salvation of the world depends, and if He has made it known, then it is a Christian duty to be intolerant of everything which ignores, denies, or explains it away. The man who perverts it is the worst enemy of God and men; and it is not bad temper or narrow-mindedness in St. Paul which explains this vehement language; it is jealousy of God which has kindled in a soul redeemed by the death of Christ a corresponding jealousy for the Saviour." (*The Death of Christ*, p. 110.)



## LITERARY ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE BIBLE.

## II.

THE BOOK OF DANIEL (*continued*).

ix. 23. "Remember the rebuke which I once got from old Mr. Dempster of Denny, after preaching to his people: 'I was highly pleased with your discourse, but in prayer it struck me that you thought God *unwilling to give*.' Remember Daniel: 'At the beginning of thy supplications the commandment came forth'" (McCheyne to Bonar).

ix. 23 f. See Keble's lines on "Thursday before Easter."

ix. 24. "Not long after Phryne's religious performance at Eleusis came the last days, too, of the national life of the Jews, under the successors of Alexander. The religious conceptions of the Jews of those days are well given by the book of Daniel. How popular and prevalent these conceptions were, is proved by their vitality and power some two centuries later at the Christian era, and by the large place which they fill in the New Testament. We are all familiar with them; with their turbid and austere visions of the Ancient of Days on his throne, and the Son of Man coming with the clouds of heaven to give the kingdom to the saints of the Most High and to bring in everlasting righteousness. Here, then, is the last word of the religion of the Hebrews, when their national life is drawing to an end, when their career has been, for the most part, run; when their religion has had nearly all the development which, within the limits of their national life, belonged to it. This, we say, is its last word: *To bring in everlasting righteousness*" (Matthew Arnold). See, further, *Literature and Dogma*, ch. iii. *ad init*.

x. 1 f. *Even a great warfare*.

"Then suddenly would come a dream of far different character—a tumultuous dream—commencing with a

music such as now I often heard in sleep—music of preparation and of awakening suspense. The morning was come of a mighty day—a day of crisis and of ultimate hope for human nature, then suffering mysterious eclipse, and labouring in some dread extremity. Somewhere, but I knew not where—somehow, but I knew not how—by some beings, but I knew not by whom—a battle, a strife, an agony, was travelling through all its stages—was evolving itself, like the catastrophe of some mighty drama, with which my sympathy was the more insupportable, from deepening confusion as to its local scene, its cause, its nature, and its undecipherable issue. . . . Some greater interest was at stake, some mightier cause, than ever yet the sword had pleaded, or trumpet had proclaimed. Then came sudden alarms ; hurrys to and fro, trepidations of innumerable fugitives ; I knew not whether from the good cause or the bad ; darkness and lights ; tempest and human faces” (De Quincey : *Confessions of an English Opium-eater*).

x. 8. *So I was left alone, and saw this great vision.*

“Thin, thin the pleasant human noises grow,  
And faint the city gleams ;  
Rare the lone pastoral huts—marvel not thou !  
The solemn peaks but to the stars are known,  
But to the stars, and the cold lunar beams ;  
Alone the sun arises, and alone  
Spring the great streams.”

(M. Arnold.)

“It takes solitude to get yourself saturated by any thought, and to the great majority of men even solitude will not effect it, but only lower their thinking power to the congealing point. Nevertheless, as Mr. Darwin saw in relation to the growth and decay of species, the very condition which kills out a weak thinking power, feeds and elevates to the glowing point a strong thinking power. . . . Till the life of a thought become identical with the life of an emotion, it will never really dominate the minds of

men. And so far as I can judge by history, this result is never attained for thought, without long, solitary brooding over it" (R. H. Hutton).

x. 11. *O Daniel, thou man greatly beloved.*

"And as I walked towards the jail, the word of the Lord came to me saying, 'My love was always to thee, and thou art in my love.' And I was ravished with the sense of the love of God, and greatly strengthened in my inward man. But when I came into the jail, where the prisoners were, a great power of darkness struck at me, and I sat still, having my spirit gathered into the love of God" (Fox's *Journal*, 1649).

x. 12. "It is strange to say, but it is a truth which our own observation and experience will confirm, that when a man discerns in himself most sin and humbles himself most, when his comeliness seems to him to vanish away and all his graces to wither, when he feels disgust at himself, and revolts at the thought of himself—seems to himself all dust and ashes, all foulness and odiousness, then it is that he is really rising in the kingdom of God, as it is said of Daniel, 'From the first day that thou didst set thine heart to understand and to chasten thyself before thy God, thy words were heard, and I am come for thy words'" (Newman). See Dora Greenwell's *Covenant of Life*, pp. 134 f.

xi. 32a. "Crows pick out the eyes of the dead, when the dead no longer need their eyes. But flatterers destroy the souls of the living, and blind their eyes" (Epictetus). Cf. the Flatterer in the first part of the *Pilgrim's Progress*.

xi. 32b. *The people that know their God shall be strong, and do exploits.* "The course of this man's life had been very simple, and yet crowded with events and with manifold activity. The element of his energy was an indestructible faith in God, and in an assistance flowing immediately from him" (Goethe, upon Jung Stilling).

"But best befriended of the God  
He who, in evil times,  
Warned by an inward voice,  
Heeds not the darkness and the dread,  
Biding by his rule and choice,  
Feeling only the fiery thread  
Leading over heroic ground,  
Walled with mortal terror round,  
To the aim which him allures,  
And the sweet heaven his deed secures . . .  
Stainless soldier on the walls,  
Knowing this—and knows no more—  
Whoever fights, whoever falls,  
Justice conquers evermore,  
Justice after as before—  
And he who battles on her side,  
God, though he were ten times slain,  
Crowns him victor glorified,  
Victor over death and pain;  
For ever; but his erring foe,  
Self-assured that he prevails,  
Looks from his victim lying low,  
And sees aloft the red right arm  
Redress the eternal scales.  
He, the poor foe, whom angels foil,  
Blind with pride and fooled by hate,  
Writhes within the dragon coil,  
Reserved to a speechless fate." (Emerson.)

xi. 32b.

"He found his work, but far behind  
Lay something that he could not find—  
Deep springs of passion that can make  
A life sublime for others' sake,  
And lend to work the living glow  
That saints and bards and heroes know.  
The power lay there—unfolded power—  
A bud that never bloomed a flower;  
For half-beliefs and jaded moods  
Of worldlings, cynics, critics, prudes,  
Lay round his path and dimmed and chilled."  
(W. E. H. Lecky.)

JAMES MOFFATT.

(To be continued.)

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